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THE
SONS OF THE SIRE;
A

HISTORY OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND DESTINY

OF THE

American Party,

AND ITS PROBABLE INFLUENCE ON THE NEXT
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

TO WHICH IS ADDED A REVIEW OF

THE LETTER OF THE HON. HENRY A. WISE,

AGAINST THE

KNOW-NOTHINGS.

BY AN AMERICAN.



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PREFACE.

HUMAN destiny, whether contemplated as it relates to the individual or the race, is among the most exalted themes that can engage the intellect of man. Sublime in its mysteries, commanding in its interests, and gathering about its issues the grandeurs of futurity, it constitutes a subject eminently worthy of profound inquiry. The theme diminishes not in interest when circumscribed by the limits of a nation's history—but rather acquires intensity from the personal connection which the humblest member of a great commonwealth has with its humiliation or glory. Humauity nowhere offers more varied or interesting aspects than in our American Republic.

As a nation, we have sacred interests committed to our trust. The author of these pages has sought to indicate how these interests are threatened, and to show how they may be properly guarded. That the dangers to which our nation is exposed are not visionary, is manifest from acknowledged corruptions in our political system, and also from the efforts of foreign governments to fill our land with their paupers and criminals.

In a recent number of the "Edinburg Review," there is an article on "The Management and Disposal of British Criminals." The writer suggests as the best course of policy, that criminals be encouraged to emigrate to the United States,—that this should be a condition in their sentence,—that as soon as they had earned enough to defray their expenses, the chaplain of the prison should procure their passage and release them. The writer maintains that "criminals from Botany Bay would be more valuable and more welcome visitors than the shoals of

Irish who are annually turned out upon those (American) shores." "In all this," he continues, "there will be no violation of implied conventions, no illicit or indefensible government agency; nothing will be done for the freed citizen which is not, or ought not be done for the citizen who has always been free."

That such sentiments prevail very generally in the old world is evident from many recent arrivals of foreign criminals and paupers, some of whom have been sent back.

In this volume utterance is given to the views of a large number of American citizens on the subject of the naturalization of foreigners, while it also sets forth the necessity of such a modification of the naturalization laws as the exigencies of the times demand.

The author holds it as the dictate of philosophy and sound statesmanship, THAT THE SONS OF THE SOIL SHOULD RULE THE SOIL. While he does not spare corrupt political intriguers, he

yields the homage of his mind to those statesmen who, by a life of integrity, give evidence of true patriotism. The reader will find unveiled some of the sores which have been festering upon the body politic, while his hopes are pointed to the man destined to be our next President, the glory of whose administration will be to protect American interests, and to secure our nation against the blight of those corrupt elements which now mar this beautiful land.

THE AUTHOR.

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THE
SONS OF THE SIREs.

CHAPTER I.

THE AMERICAN PARTY.

AMONG the clashing schemes and conflicting interests which have agitated our social system to its profoundest depths, a fact of startling import has recently been evolved—a fact transcendently important on account of the scope of its bearings, and momentous on account of its formative influence upon the future destiny of our nation. That fact is the “Know Nothing” organization.

Like a clap of thunder from a brilliant sky, it has waked up millions of native-born citizens from their slumbers, to contemplate the dangers which threaten their altars and their hearths. Startled from that repose of security which a conscious integrity of purpose and action inspire, they look with horror upon the uncovered snares which a stealthy foreign hand has framed to strangle the foster-mother that shelters and nourishes those outcasts who fled to her bosom for

protection. While the honest and patriotic have been roused to a true perception of their duty, it has also sent ominous tremors to the hearts of truckling demagogues and corrupt politicians. These tremble for their places, and struggle to retain their power. This organization is remarkable for the suddenness of its birth, and marvellous for its unparalleled growth and expansion. When this new star loomed out in our political firmament, in the twinkling of an eye, in its full-orbed brilliancy to guide our destiny, multitudes labored to obscure or quench it; but it laughed at their fruitless attempts, and moved onward to its day of glory; or, to change the metaphor, it was scarcely born before Herods sent their murderous confederates to strangle it in its cradle. But having no notion to be dispatched so unceremoniously, it had grown to a giant, and set out on the march of its destiny, before the executioners arrived. Having eluded their grasp and escaped from the knife, they labored to circumscribe it to some isolated spot, or cut short its operations by exiling it from their favor. People were duly warned against the young monster; the faithful were drilled to an obstinate resistance on its first approach, and commanded to scout, to curse, and to crush it. Yet notwithstanding the formidable antagonists which it everywhere encountered, it lived in the fire, and its successes

were still reported, and each recurring day chronicled some new victory. Such was the extent of the alarm which it created, that for a season our national councils were partially deserted, for their members had gone to wage a crusade against this formidable enemy. If they could only catch it, they would call a national jubilee to its immolation; but while they looked for it here, it was yonder, and there, and everywhere; and behold, the Know Nothings, though not known, sprang up thick and fast. Cities were carefully fortified, armed sentinels guarded every avenue that led to the road of public patronage and power; but, as invisible as it is potent, it moved unseen amid the arena where aspirants for official stations were contending, defeating the well-organized parties, and spreading consternation among the mighty.

It is a queer thing, but it is a thing of life and power. It is invincible, for it has stood unblanched amid the hottest fires; and weapons that never before failed in conquering, were shattered upon its breast, and fell in broken fragments harmless at its feet. After it survived the keen blades of argument, shafts of ridicule and the canister of executive displeasure were poured from the great guns with which the batteries around our Metropolis are mounted; and these were caught up, and re-shot by the smaller calibre; but still it maintained its po-

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none of these sons of the soil could be trusted with the keeping of the peace and safety of the city. As I entered the beautiful enclosure, pregnant with so many stirring memories, and hallowed by the most sacred associations, the old clock pealed out the hour of ten. From the same point issued, seventy-eight years ago, those notes of liberty which swept on angel wings over this land—from that sacred place the proclamation went forth, that no foreign despot should oppress Americans. It seemed as though there were something mournful in those vibrations which announced the hour; and I almost imagined that the faithful chronicler of time was conscious that true patriotism had sadly declined—as if it knew the powerful sway which a despot beyond the ocean had acquired over this nation. This impression had previously forced itself upon my mind; and, however unwelcome, will establish itself in the mind of even the most careless observer of that which daily transpires around him. For what does he behold? At our political gatherings every foreigner is pressed into service to promote the interests of that party which has been most lavish in its promises of reward. Not only are the huzzas at our hustings foreign, but the polls have frequently been under the special charge of drunken aliens, with no other object than to exclude all citizens whose

nerves are inadequate, and whose character forbids their participation in a row. The intrigue and rowdysm which have characterized almost every recent campaign, have been gotten up by foreigners; and to look at them, a stranger would suppose that they are the sons of the soil, and enjoyed all the prerogatives to let or hinder others in the exercise of their rights. I had scrutinized these public movements, looked into the secret conclaves where high officials were bidding, and prelates were selling, the suffrages of their spiritual subjects to the highest bidder. I had also looked into the cabinet, and saw the gifted and competent American thrust from a high position, to make room for one who would conciliate and command the foreign element. It was, while musing on this state of things, and meditating on that cunningly devised and widespread net-work of Jesuitism, the deep corruption which exists among politicians, and the base prostitution of power and influence on the part of those who fill the high places of our republic; to this masked enemy of freedom, that I involuntarily exclaimed, Shade of Washington! whither will all this tend? I was in that particular frame of mind when our thoughts become a burden, and the anxieties of the heart cause us to long for a companion to share our solitudes, when there stood in my path a personage of commanding appearance, and thus

addressed me:—"Sir, you seem troubled—a weighty care has cast its dark shadow upon your brow—can you trust to another a knowledge of the secret which disquiets your spirit?" Excellent sir, said I, for your language and appearance do not deceive me, I was pondering the strange condition of things among us. I have passed through this city, and travelled extensively through this land—I have watched those popular movements which now and then disturb society—I have traced the actions of public men to their hidden sources, and have discovered that those whom I followed, whom I trusted and believed to be the noblest patriots, are heartless and selfish, and labor for personal exaltation, rather than for the advancement of our country's interests. I have studied the springs which keep the political machinery in motion, and vainly tried to solve the problem why millions of freemen suffer themselves to be controlled in the choice of their rulers, by a superstitious and tyrannical power—a power between whose seat and us the ocean rolls, but a system so cunningly devised, that the pulsations of its authority are as distinctly felt at Washington as at Rome. A power which fills almost every office with its menials, that controls our state and national legislation—makes our governors, elects our presidents, and constructs our cabinets—a power courted, feared, and flat-



tered by all who aspire to honorable and influential positions; and I wondered whither all this tends. Are we to realize the predictions of despotic powers, and prove by our overthrow and the prostration of our liberties and hopes, that man is not capable of self-government? Are we to witness the abhorrent thing—a despotism born from a Republic? Shall we see a many-headed monster springing from the womb of the virgin of Liberty? “Sir,” said my interrogator, “these are neither strange nor singular thoughts which have disturbed your peace—they are feelings evoked by the genius of liberty that attends the meditations of true patriots—apprehensions which had a home in the mind of Washington, when he said to his staff, “Put none but Americans on guard to-night.” Emotions that agitated his great heart, while its holy pathos and earnest yearnings flowed from its profound depths into that Farewell Address, in which he so affectionately warns the American people against foreign intrigue and alliance. They are not singular nor isolated thoughts, but such as were present to the meditations of the ablest statesmen of the past, and such as now disturb the heart of our glorious confederacy. These questions have been asked and answered, and invested with that power derived from those whose right it is to bestow it, I am now on my mission to restore America to Americans. I am

instructed to break the coils of that serpent which infolds the public body, and whose fearful pressures already cause the national heart to quiver and palpitate with alarm. I will sever the monster's folds before his poison impregnates and darkens with death the fountains of liberty. I have already achieved victories, and to-morrow I shall triumph here. I will carry new energy from this field, and will, ere long, complete the conquest of the land, and restore to the sons of the sires who consecrated this soil by their blood, the dearly purchased inheritance of their fathers."

Who are you then, I asked, that you utter such purposes, and speak with such confidence, even in a cause whose justice I acknowledge? "My name, though honourable, must not now be revealed. I am hated by those who have corrupted the land—persecuted by those who, in their infatuation for honorable distinction and self-aggrandizement, have allowed themselves to be duped and blinded by a foreign foe that now digs a chasm about the throne of freedom. I am cursed from the seats of power—hunted and hated—anathematized in the palaces of the great, and defamed in the dens of the vile—but I am approved by the man of honest toil, hailed as a deliverer by him who would have his acres protected against foreign rule, by the intelligent and order-loving—by patriots and Christians. For although they "know me not," they know

that I am their friend, and have come to their help. They understand that my mission is to purify and strengthen; to build up and fortify our noble institutions, that unborn millions may rejoice over them as the impregnable refuges of freedom. They know that it is my high commission to keep clear from corruption, those channels through which the life of this nation flows, and to aid the brave and the good to perpetuate our glorious Union. I am slandered and calumniated, but that harms me not. They say that I was born in the night, and speak it to my reproach; but the learned Greeks declared the midnight hour the hour of golden thought. Chosen sometimes by the wicked for deeds of evil, but to the good it yieldeth jewels. But I am not just born — long have I kept my vigils over the land of the free and the home of the brave. I sat by Washington in his deep meditations; I lodged with him by the camp-fire, and bowed by his side under the spangled canopy of heaven, when he prayed for Divine succor in the day of peril. I was closeted with Jefferson and Madison, and was the companion of that noble band whose motto was—"Give us liberty, or give us death." I was born, not amid scenes of revelry or darkness, but in the quiet beauty of that hour when good spirits bring messages to mortals from the world of light and love. Then — and amid the blending glory of

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must, as far as possible, prevent the fusion of these different representatives into a bona fide American character; and therefore they tried to raise new issues without end, in order to preserve distinct nationalities among us.

This was not difficult, among a people made up of a number of races and so many nations, for there were necessarily found among us opposing elements and conflicting opinions. Just so far as they could succeed in this, they would make room for their own growth, and hope to weaken the Protestant element by dividing its adherents into hostile parties. But they were not satisfied with this, they exerted their influence upon the action of our civil institutions, and had, to some extent, succeeded in causing the political economy of the nation to swallow up its theology. This would necessarily be a slow process, for the descendants of the Puritans, of Luther, of Calvin, and Penn, could not readily be induced to lay aside their old-fashioned ideas of morality and government.

First the cry was everywhere raised that this is a free country, that we must tolerate error as well as truth, and when they had as they thought prepared the public mind for it, they made the first bold attempt to strike from our political firmament its sun, by an advocacy of the banishment of the Bible from the public schools. The *opinion* of our strait-notioned fathers, and

that of some of their children, though not claiming their sterling virtues, that the Bible was the best book to expand the human mind, to cultivate the heart, and to form a character of solid virtues, was controverted. It was asserted in the presence of a nation of purer statesmen, and nobler philanthropists, than any other can boast, and in the face of a most thriving and virtuous population, and in defiance of these monuments of the worth of bible-influence on the mind of youth, the vain philosophy of the age, nay rather Jesuitism in disguise, dared to affirm that the Bible was not adapted to the purposes to which it had been so long and so successfully applied. There were appeals addressed to Protestants that they must be tolerant, that they must respect the scruples of Catholics, and accommodate the school system to suit the views of all, even three or half-a-dozen in a community of thousands. And these kind souls in the abundance of their liberality, or in compliance with the suggestions of an easy virtue, but with politicians from a desire to conciliate the favor of the Jesuits, after a little show of resistance yielded the point, and God's word was banished from our schools. And now in these intellectual laboratories, where the future citizens and rulers are to be fashioned, they have in many instances no book whose influence alone is adequate to the formation of a virtuous citizen or an upright and wise statesman.

I regard, therefore, as among the most prominent causes of the origin of the Know-Nothings, the encroachments of foreigners on the sacred rights of American citizens. Our government was established to meet the wants, and secure the happiness of the largest possible number of its subjects. While it repudiated the intolerance of despotisms, it granted the amplest liberty compatible with the peace and safety of the state to its citizens, native and adopted. The Roman Catholic power, accustomed to rule both Church and State, and animated with that arrogant spirit which exalts itself above all other institutions, both human and divine, could not fraternize with other subjects, nor be long contented with an equality of privileges, but aimed at the supremacy not simply in the religious institutions and educational machinery of the land; but also labored for the possession of civil supremacy. Short of the highest pinnacle to which it could ascend, *i. e.*, of absolute and unlimited power, it could never rest in peace.

Whatever be the space of time through which its plans reach, or however Herculean the efforts necessary to compass its ends, it rests not, flags not, in its pursuit of the coveted good. To mature their schemes they wrought silently, yet effectually, in the pulpit, in the seminary of learning, in the confessional, but much more in *the political caucus*, and at the polls. Their

operations were conducted under the guise of a mock humility, and their purposes so adroitly concealed, that few believed that their vast machinery had been planned and kept in motion with a view to the attainment of power. If a note of alarm was occasionally sounded, the secular press with a unanimity that indicated the strong anxiety of both political parties to propitiate the papal influence, denounced those who uttered their apprehensions concerning the ulterior designs of Rome.

The American people born with the most generous impulses, and instinct with the principles of toleration, measuring others by the dispositions and integrity of their own hearts, were slow to believe that any class of men either in their individual or united capacity, could be laboring for the attainment of such power as would enable them to annul the charter of our rights, and substitute for our noble Constitution, the arbitrary and bloody code of the Inquisition. Partially through ignorance of the dark history of Papacy, but much more because of their implicit confidence in the wisdom and integrity of party leaders, they gave their support to Jesuitical aspirants to office, which showed their unlimited confidence in those who professed the most ardent love for those institutions which their creed would bid them curse. The success of Catholics was as marked, as their progress.

was rapid. In many places they held the balance of power, and it was the too free exercise of this power, and their growing demands for favors, that first awakened suspicion in the minds of the reflecting, and which finally resulted in serious apprehensions of this dangerous class. Had Catholics, like other citizens, fallen into the ranks of the two great parties, and exercised the right of suffrage as individuals, without respect to the religious associations, or tendencies of the candidate, the "Know-Nothings" would never have sprung into existence. But it became manifest to Americans that the Bishops and Archbishops held absolute control over the minds of their spiritual subjects; and by this combination, this distinct politico-religious organization of a large body of men, this "imperium in imperio," which is now falsely charged upon the American party, ready to cast their votes in that direction which would most effectually tend to the advancement of their Church; it was this which created the emergency that demanded a rising of the people against these encroachments upon our peace and safety. The Archbishop of New York seems to have been the very soul of this movement. Emboldened by his successes, and calculating too strongly upon the sympathy which he found among politicians, he quickened his march towards power. His encroachments upon cherished American interests which he

would blight with his vandal hand, were in such quick succession, as to occasion alarm. As their policy was gradually unfolded, it unveiled the atrocious purposes which had been so long concealed from public scrutiny, until he formally announced in his Chapter of Catholic history, that republicanism was incompatible with the interests of the Church. Feeling himself strongly entrenched in the affections of his people, and overrating his influence over the American mind, he dared to vindicate the government of Tuscany in its oppressions of a hapless family, for no other crime than that of reading the scriptures. He denounced the thousands who had assembled to give expression to their sympathy for the unfortunate Madiari. And as if determined with one effort to silence Americans, and to cause them, nolens volens, to yield submission to Papal dictation, he ventures on a reply to the great speech of Senator Cass, on religious toleration, attempting to convince the people that freedom is an inalienable and inviolable right of conscience, and that however the body may be tortured, it retires to its impregnable fortress and defies all the horrid implements of torture which Rome knows so well how to apply. The American people rightly judged that if such were the views of religious toleration which Rome promulgates and maintains, we had better keep her within such limits, as to prevent her from indul-

ging us with such religious freedom. Followed up by Brownson's expositions of the Divine right of the Church to dictate law and to rule rulers, they showed too clearly what might be expected when these modest gentlemen attained the end of their wishes. Then, too, the "Shepherd of the Valley," published under the auspices of another Bishop, stoutly maintained the right of the Church to burn heretics, and vindicated the horrible slaughters by which Rome crimsoned the soil of every land where she exercised undisputed authority. This same monster, or spirit from the dark ages, denounced our educational systems, denied the right of laymen to read the Bible, and boldly affirmed that the masses ought not to be educated. And all this parade of Catholic abominations was designed probably to prepare the way for the Pope's Nuncio, who doubtless had plenary powers to take possession of President, government and all, provided that the work had sufficiently progressed to bring the Americans into quiet submission to His Holiness Pius IX. Or if some few thousands might make a show of resistance, was not Bedini, who had butchered the noble Bassi, and whose hands were yet crimsoned with the blood of those who dared to aspire to be free, the very instrument to dispose of those misguided and refractory persons who might still suppose that they had a right to object to his dictation?

Such was the state of things which gave rise to the American party. Was there not abundant occasion to create alarm? Was it not time for the people to rise in their majesty, and withstand these enemies of our rights? Is it not just, is it not a duty imposed by heaven, seconded by conscience, and impressed by the most hallowed associations, to show these usurpers of authority the constitutional limits, and say to them, "hitherto shall ye come, but here shall your proud waves be stayed?" They had found the word of God the most formidable obstruction in the way of progress for Romanism, and therefore their ingenuity was first taxed to displace from the schools this fosterer of religious and civil freedom. They would take it from the young—they would conduct the rising generation from the fountain of living waters, to broken cisterns—from the study of the science of immortality and its God, to the sickly legends of pretended saints. Their complaints of an injured conscience because the Protestant Bible was read in schools, had two objects in view—first to withdraw its influence from the minds of the young, for that Church has always regarded the scriptures as hostile to its interests and dangerous to its existence. The priests fear nothing so much as an open Bible; for it teaches on many points the very opposite of what that Church teaches.

In the Bible the soul is brought directly to the fountain of blessing without the intervention of any human being, which is adverse to the interests of the papacy, because it diminishes its revenues. And just in proportion as they could bring the reading of the scriptures into disuse, they would aid in the advancement of their principles. Another object, however, was to obtain possession of the public funds to carry forward their private operations. They claimed it as a right, if not a constitutional yet a moral right, a portion equal to the amount of taxation assessed upon Catholics. Had any efforts been made to proselyte their children, or had they been compelled to read the Protestant version of the Bible, there might have been some cause of complaint; but such were not the facts. But their exertions in relation to this subject, may be regarded as a feeler of the public pulse. It may have been designed as the beginning of a bad end. Could they have prostrated the public school system, the noblest institution ever devised to form American citizens out of the different nations represented among us,—could they have stormed this fortress of our freedom, they might then have more readily carried their devastations to the very citadel of Liberty.

Of a like character were all the other demonstrations from these modest dictators. From the period when the Catholic chapter of American

history made its appearance, there commenced a declaration of Catholic prerogatives, and an unfolding of their tyrannical system, that perfectly astounded all classes. It was unquestionably the infatuation of the directing power that opened the eyes of the people, and changed the current of popular sympathy into feelings of distrust. For if according to the showing of this prelate, republicanism and Romanism are antagonistic in their elements and tendencies, and cannot co-exist in the same place in harmony, then the apprehensions of the people were not unfounded, and they acted judiciously when they determined to dispense with the favor of a power that was confessedly hostile to our institutions. They said if the highest Roman ecclesiastic in this country avows the hostility of his creed to all that we cherish, and if he sanctions the announcement of others that when Rome becomes dominant, religious toleration must terminate, we are justified in believing that such are the intentions of the Catholic powers, and we do right to rise up, to silence these insolent minions of the pope.

The most far-seeing and judicious minds, had often expressed it as their conviction that foreign despots were co-operating with the Jesuits to subvert, if possible, our government. For it is known to those crowned heads, that as long as this Union stands, so long their thrones must

tremble. Guard as they will their kingdoms against the inroads of liberal principles, and do what they may to shut out the spirit of freedom, their subjects catch the inspiration from the very air, and cannot and will not lie quietly under the wrongs which crush their spirits to the dust. To overturn and cover with disastrous ruin our institutions is a purpose which lies near their hearts. And it is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that they would do all in their power to advance a system amongst us, which aims at the destruction of republicanism, and the establishment of a spiritual despotism. And if any organized body—any human combination could bring about such a disastrous result, the Romish hierarchy would do it.

The policy which governs their action provides for all contingencies which may arise in the prosecution of their labors. They are permitted to press all manner of instrumentalities into their service, and as with them the end accomplished justifies the means, they are fully authorized to commit any atrocities which are deemed necessary to effect their purpose. They are carefully educated for their work, prepared by a long course of training for endurance, for intrigue, and, if necessary, for self-immolation, to give success to their ambitious aspirings. There is not a country upon the globe where Jesuitism has reigned triumphant that has not been de-

spoiled of its noblest blessings, and swept as with the blight of death, through their instrumentality.

It must therefore be obvious to every unprejudiced mind conversant even to a limited extent with their efforts to widen the range of their influence and to rise to absolute power, that their arrogance and consequent encroachment upon American interests were mainly instrumental in bringing into existence the Know-Nothing organization. It originated in the state of things which those produced, who are now so loud in their denunciations of the new order. Apart from this, as one of the originating causes of the American party, there are others of an incidental character, which have helped to call it into life. These will unfold themselves as we proceed, and their importance will be apparent from the nature of the sources from which they flowed. The origin of the Know-Nothings, although so sudden in its manifestations, was for a long time maturing for its birth. It is palpably evident from its character and potency, that it has not arisen from the troubled surface of society, caused by a gale of popular feeling, but has sprung from the profoundest depths of the social body. The causes were of long standing and had acquired great force, else the reacting power of this movement could not have been marked with such terrific energy.

The pressure had been felt at all points, and wide spread as the Union, and the reaction has been co-extensive with the circle of influence which produced it.

We regard this great movement as a spontaneous rising of the people in their majesty. And while we would deprecate popular outbreaks, and deplore combinations of men to war against the interests or the peace of society, we rejoice in the presence of this vast multitude who are actuated by noble purposes, and toiling for an exalted end.

It is not a blind movement, nor a misguided, irresponsible power, but a gathering of most excellent materials—a coalescing of the best citizens, formerly divided in political sentiment on unimportant points. A few years ago who would have predicted such a change in the aspect of the political world? Wisely controlled, and judiciously directed, it will prove to our country a political salvation from corruptions which have long been festering upon the body politic. Their mode of operation will enable the organization to keep clear of those excesses and extravagances which were so painfully present in the old parties. For a while the object of scorn and ridicule, it is now feared and respected. Untrammelled by the vassalage of the others to Rome, we behold an American host in the field, occupied in the execution of a mission as glorious as it was

urgent. There is now no slumbering over the great interests of freedom, men are beginning to realize that each one forms a part of this republic, and that high responsibilities rest upon the humble as well as the exalted. If a corrupt partizan press—and a designing spiritual power go into paroxysms of rage, because the citadel of their strength is tottering, and their power is in its death-throes, the bitterest of all reflections will be, that their insolence and ambition have caused the people to throw off the yoke of party bondage, and roused them to a true perception of their duty—a duty which they are now discharging by filling official stations with honest Americans.

CHAPTER III.

PRINCIPLES STATED, ILLUSTRATED AND ENFORCED.

THE distinguished publicist Montesquieu has said, that monarchies are preserved by honor and republics by virtue. The father of our country has more truthfully observed, that virtue and intelligence are the great safeguards of our liberties. But virtue and intelligence are the offspring of principles, and since these underlie all private and public action, we may truly affirm that as a nation we are controlled more by inward principle, than by outward constraint. There must, therefore, exist first a public conscience to create just sentiments, before we can reasonably expect their legitimate virtues among citizens. Ideas which are influential upon public action may be of slow growth, but when properly rooted in the social structure they will acquire the needful strength to reproduce themselves. If we scrutinize the actions of men, or rather subject to a rigid examination the results of individual and social life, we may with absolute certainty pronounce upon the character of those sentiments which actuate the individual or the

community. In like manner, when we know the principles upon which action is based, or to which the conduct is to be conformed, we may infer the results that may be expected.

In regard to the organization now under consideration we must adopt the latter method, if we would ascertain its probable effects upon the public welfare. We know the principles of this party, and therefore cannot misapprehend the consequences which will flow from a conformity to them. One of the leading dogmas of the new order is, that Americans should rule America. A principle so easily understood requires but little illustration; yet as it may wear an aspect of exclusiveness to some minds, it may not be inappropriate to offer a few considerations to show the justness of this article of their creed. Seeing that the government was managed in many instances by persons of foreign birth, who were reared under influences widely different from those under which the American mind matures, they believe that those men cannot sympathize with American interests, since they are not actuated by those sentiments which thrill the native bosom. To guard our country against a mal-administration of our laws, they hold the opinion that we shall most likely escape those evils that would militate against our prosperity, and be ruinous to our institutions, by elevating none but native born to

official stations. That there is more or less danger in committing the government into the hands of adopted citizens, and that sad consequences either immediately or remotely might be anticipated, is not an idea of recent growth. The framers of our constitution did not regard it in harmony with our interests or safety, to allow the eligibility of a foreigner to the Presidency of these United States. And if in the wisdom of those noble patriots, it would be impolitic and perilous to the peace of our country to select one of foreign birth to fill the chair of State, may we not, upon the same ground, exclude them from all minor trusts? May we not urge the force of their example, as an irresistible argument as touching all other offices? Granted that the responsibility may be less and the ability of doing mischief comparatively circumscribed in lower grades of office, still, if in the former there is reason to exclude them by a provisional act, there must be, though in a diminished degree, danger to trust them with any official stations.

That this maxim of the American party has been violently assailed we are fully aware, but that the wisdom and soundness of this policy has been disproved, we do not grant. Of plausible declamation and a show of misguided sympathy we have seen enough, but it is so common for men who have certain interests at stake to have

their judgments clouded and warped by their passions, that charity constrains us to ascribe their efforts in favor of foreigners, not to their good sense, but to a love of distinction. A conviction not hastily formed constrains us to believe that the justness of the principle can be demonstrated to the satisfaction of all candid minds. Wherein lies its injustice? There are only four sources from which the opposers of the new order have attempted to draw their arguments against this dogma. From the instincts of humanity, from the teachings of reason, from the example of other nations, and the early practice of our government. The instincts of humanity only require us to afford them protection and to give them scope for the promotion of their happiness; and therefore none of its impulses or laws are contravened by this principle. The dictates of reason are manifestly in favor of it; and the example of other nations amply sustains the views of the American party. There is no other nation so recreant to its interests, as to allow aliens to bear a part in the administration of its government. Those indeed from whom our foreign population comes, do not even allow an expression of opinion concerning their laws and institutions, on the part of those who might wish to make their country a place of residence. Citizenship may not be obtained in many instances on any probation or at

any price. And if there were no other ground upon which to defend the principle that Americans should rule America, the example of other nations would warrant the practice of this precautionary measure.

It is granted by the highest authority that a nation has a natural and moral right to form its own internal regulations, provided its laws do not conflict with international law. No nation has a right to dictate to another, what form of government to adopt, or who its rulers are to be, or how they shall be chosen; how they shall make citizens and what immunities are due to aliens. It is manifest that foreigners have no right to dictate our laws, and therefore have no just ground to complain if Americans see proper to exclude them from offices of trust. It is a great privilege and as much as the most ambitious should expect, if they are permitted to become naturalized citizens after a suitable residence among us; for it is assuredly in the power of government to withhold this boon altogether, and in its bestowment the nation recognizes no rightful claim to it, on the part of applicants, but confers it as a free gift.

The justness of this principle which would exclude foreigners from office, is again apparent from the consideration that office is not indispensable to a man's happiness and prosperity. The honors and responsibilities of an official

position seldom promote a man's comfort, but more frequently multiply his cares. Instead, therefore, of doing a positive wrong to the alien by shutting him out of these places, we would save him from a probable evil. It would seem enough to a reasonable man who has fled from oppression, to be permitted to pursue some honorable avocation through which he may provide a comfortable subsistence for his family. And it is a fact not to be overlooked here, that the better portion of our immigrant population do not desire nor seek stations of trust. They are content with the quiet employment for which they are fitted and in which they contribute to the wealth of the nation, and though much more competent intellectually and morally for office, than those brawling politicians of foreign birth, they agree with us, that their measure of good is full to overflowing, by the civil and religious freedom they enjoy. We regard, moreover, the principle that Americans should rule America a just one, for the reason that, circumstances being equal, Americans are better qualified to rule. The opposite maxim we have already seen was viewed as dangerous by our fathers, who have forever excluded all but the native born from the highest office in the gift of the people. And the great object which all true members of our glorious commonwealth should have at heart, is to get the most competent rulers.

It is of minor importance whether Whig or Democrat, or any other party should be in power, but it is of the highest moment, to have wise and able statesmen. Not all are born to govern, and comparatively few possess the high attributes that should characterize a ruler or law-maker. This consideration has been too much overlooked, and it is a notorious fact that both the old parties had lost sight of it altogether. Candidates were selected, and their election urged on the ground of their devotion to the party, or taken because some outward prestige made them the most available. Availability was the prominent item, and by that was meant, his ability to secure the foreign vote. If it could be made to appear that Bishop Hughes would endorse him, and that the Catholics would support him with unanimity, he was considered worthy to bear the standard of the party. If he had an ear for "the sweetness of the German accent, and the richness of the Irish brogue," he was put upon the course of the Presidential race. If, unfortunately, he could not command the Catholic element, he was laid aside, since for the lack of this nothing could atone. Bishop Hughes has made and unmade governors, legislators, and Presidents. He and his coadjutors have, in a political sense much more than in a spiritual one, borne the keys, and had power to shut and no man could open, and open and no

man could shut, the door of political preferment. This cringing to the papacy on the part of our public men, and their dread of giving offence in this quarter, has for years placed them in subjection to hierarchical dictation, and made them the pliable instruments of officious prelates.

But to return to the point, I ask who will venture to affirm that a man, reared under a monarchical or despotic form of government, is better fitted to administer the affairs of state than an American? Is it not unpardonable presumption to maintain such a monstrous proposition? Look at the case in the light of reason; the one has grown upon a foreign soil, and the peculiarities of his nationality are interwoven with the very texture of his being. He is easily recognized by his language, by his habits and mode of life, so much so, that even a child may tell us the country that produced him. And if these national characteristics are so visible in the outward man, if the whole exterior glows with the distinctive features of the land from which he hails, will not his intellectual and moral natures present the same peculiarities? These can no more be American than the man himself. He is a stranger to those instincts and that expansive spirit which are purely American. He is totally unlike the son of the soil, he cannot unmake himself, reconstruct his nature, nor people his mind with new sentiments and

tendencies, and until he can do that, he cannot compare with a native citizen in his qualifications, much less claim superiority. We utterly deny, we scout the idea, and pronounce it a libel upon American citizens; nay, we affirm without the fear of contradiction, that the sons of the soil are the only men who should be entrusted with the weighty affairs of state, either at home or abroad. These are the more competent, because familiar from childhood with the great interests of the nation: their sympathies, their education, the influences under which their minds matured—all are favorable to make them competent, efficient and honest rulers! If, therefore, any regard is to be had to the fitness of men when selecting our rulers, we must give the preference to native born. With such men, truly American in their feelings, we are conscious of a security which we cannot cherish when men not reared on the soil are placed over us. To our own we can give our confidence, for we are assured of their patriotism. This principle of the new party we think sufficiently vindicated. As I write for the people, I have given a plain, common sense view of the subject, and doubt not that my fellow-citizens, whatever their party predilections may be, will pronounce this feature in the new creed eminently just and patriotic. It is a principle shadowed forth by the founders of this republic, and fully brought

out by the emergency of the times. There is a numerous body of men impelled by a fanatical zeal, who love nothing but power, and who will never rest so long as civil and spiritual freedom cover this land with their blessings and make each man a sovereign; and these men can only be kept within appropriate limits by bringing into force the principle here advocated.

Another dogma of the new order is, to protect American interests. It is an ancient maxim, "first be just before you are generous." This maxim applies here with peculiar force: Americans owe duties to themselves in an individual, as well as in a collective capacity; which they are bound by every dictate of reason to discharge, before they seek other objects upon whom to bestow their generosity. The first great duty is to preserve our glorious institutions in their purity. We are bound to transmit them to our posterity as we received them, untarnished and uncorrupted. If we do not guard them, who will? If Americans do not exercise "eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty," who will do it for us? It is equally obvious, that in order to retain them as they are, the same influences, civil and moral, which have moulded the American character and made it what it is, must be kept alive and exerted upon the rising generation. What are these? Chiefly those connected with our educational institutions. Is there any danger

that these influences may be weakened or counteracted? Most assuredly. And pray what or who would war against things so sacred, and so vitally associated with our very existence? I reply the papacy, French infidelity, German skepticism, and socialism have formed a tremendous combination against these very interests. Our revolutionary sires held that the Bible, the sabbath, and the common schools, were the strong bulwarks of our national freedom and prosperity.

Whatever denominational distinctions may exist, the nation cannot live and prosper without the Bible and the sabbath. Look where you will, you will see that where no sabbath recalls men from the cares and agitations of worldly pursuits, immorality and vice abound; and where no Bible restrains, a moral blight and mildew settle down upon the energies of a nation.

The experiment of France to live without the Bible, without the sabbath, and without God, was most disastrous in its consequences. Behold Spain, Portugal, Italy, Mexico, all melancholy examples of national imbecility and oppression—all marked by the most abject moral and social degradation; and these are the legitimate fruits of banishing the Bible and abrogating the laws of the sabbath. Every American, whether practically a Christian or not, has an interest at stake

here—a sacred trust worthy to be guarded with a jealous eye, and to be defended with his last drop of patriotic blood. The influences of the Bible, and the sabbath, more than aught else, have caused the path of our progress as a nation to glow with glory. What causes us to differ in the elements of strength and the grandeur of our prospect from the nations to which I have just referred? Why is New England compared with Spain as a paradise to a desert? Why are the citizens from ocean to ocean in this republic rejoicing in an affluence of rare and rich blessings, while the subjects of Catholic countries are perishing for lack of bread? Why does the light of knowledge stream from every cottage here, while a dark cloud of ignorance covers, as with the pall of death, those lands subject to the triple crown? Manifestly because the Bible, the sabbath and the public school have imparted life, energy, and happiness to our population, while the absence of these intellectual and moral luminaries among other nations have caused them to decline until some of them are now languishing on the very borders of an inglorious destruction.

These, then, are precious interests, because they restrain vice and promote virtue; vice ruins, but virtue exalts a people. But behold how these very pillars of our prosperity are threatened by foreign hordes, who would change

our sabbaths of devotion into days of riot, and our sanctuaries into theatres. The influences employed to corrupt and ruin our nation are of an alarming character. Not only are great exertions made to effect this, but made by powerful instrumentalities. While with the immigrants we occasionally import some virtue and some valuable material to nourish the life of this nation, we also receive those elements which, if unsubdued and suffered to gain the ascendancy will blight and desolate this far-famed and beautiful land. Infidels, socialists, and Jesuits are all pestilential fellows. These attempt to poison the fountains of knowledge and literature. Thousands of foul sheets are published and scattered broadcast over the land, whose aim as well as tendency is, to unhinge the public conscience, to unsettle the virtue, and vitiate the morals of the people. In waging their warfare against the life of this nation, they are not choice in their weapons. They assume any disguise that may gain them access to the sanctuary of our homes and the altars of our country. Philanthropy, science, and literature, are all made vehicles for disseminating their principles. But the most dangerous, because the most subtle of all enemies is, Jesuitism. It will overcome any obstruction, and will penetrate any bulwark reared against it. For there is not a garb from the most foul and licentious abandonment, up to the most

refined and richly embellished dress of literature and poetry, in which these enemies have not assailed the pillars of our republic. Either the principles handed down to us by our fathers, or those of Jesuitism will prevail. Our sabbaths, our bibles, and our public schools will continue to be cherished as the great conservators of our national interests, or they will give place to one dominant despotic spiritual power, which, instead of sending our children to the school, may send them to the inquisition.

While these remain unharmed, our nation will stand; when they fall, our nation with its glorious blessings and hopes will fall! This conflict of principles even now shakes the land. If you will, you may hear a voice from our homes, from our altars, and from the shrine of freedom in our Metropolis, saying, arise freemen, and to the conflict, for the cry of battle rings through the land. The enemy is receiving constant and powerful accessions—and dare we slumber? While they are forging chains to bind our free spirits—while they are kindling fires to consume our bibles, and digging a grave for Liberty, shall we look quietly on until the deed is done? Not if the spirit which animated our fathers has descended to the sons—not if the blood which nerved their arms in seventy-six pulsates through our veins! Nay, if a spark of that patriotism that dared to resist British oppression

burns in our bosoms, and the lofty purposes of our fathers thrill in our souls, we will, we must cherish and defend the great interests of our nation.

I have spoken of the Bible, the sabbath, and the public schools as our great interests, and assigned them this high rank because they lie at the foundation of our past successes, are the true secret of our present unexampled prosperity, and must forever maintain an intimate connection with our progress and glory. For one, I rejoice that the religious element pulsates strongly in this new order. Not intolerance, but such an appreciation of the exalted blessings of religious freedom, that men within and without the enclosure of the Christian church, are unwilling to bow their necks to the yoke of spiritual oppression. For these men, while they labor, not for the ascendancy of any denomination or sect, are prepared to guard the rights of conscience and liberty of worship for all. And while many of them are not intimately nor professionally associated with any denomination, they have that religious consciousness which lives in the bosom of every American, and they cannot and will not quietly look on while infidels and Jesuits, vandal-like, attempt to tear away the foundation stones of the temple of freedom. Washington felt the need and insisted upon the cultivation of that morality which has its source in the

Bible, and its centre in God, as the only permanent vitality of our system.

Daniel Webster and General Cass—men of master intellects, whose names will forever live and shine in our country's glory, have given us their testimony that Christianity is an integral part of our government, and therefore as worthy of protection in its free, untrammelled activity, as any other element in our political constitution. That there may be found occasionally fanatical men who may be carried to extremes by a blind impulse none will deny, and none will be more ready to deplore and to punish lawless violence than the party whose name and whose principles they abuse in such acts, but surely no intelligent and unbiassed mind will attempt to prove the evil tendency of a creed by the errors of a few of its adherents, for according to this rule they might convict all Americans of treason because among them was found a Benedict Arnold.

But these are not the only interests which the American party seeks to promote and defend. Our religious toleration and our educational system, they will protect by their honor, their fortunes and their lives, but while they do this, they will also throw their protecting shield over commerce and manufactures. They desire to be just to our citizens, before they are generous to other nations. They would suitably compensate the man of toil, and encourage industry and

enterprise. They do not recognize the principle as just, to wound at home that they may heal abroad, to impoverish those among us who ply the loom, or spread the sail, that others may be enriched at the expense of native sweat and energy. They would first provide bread for our own household, before they would send their charities abroad upon a doubtful errand. They hope to do this by such a regulation of the duties on imports, as to afford a fair remuneration for labor at home, in the production of the same articles of trade. They would, as far as possible, equalize the burdens and blessings of government. Are not these principles just? Is there aught about them oppressive, or intolerant? The answer from the sons of toil is an emphatic no! no! Those who live sumptuously every day and whose fortunes permit them to give ample scope to their indulgence may theorize on abstract questions—but the poor mechanic, whose arm is the only wealth of a numerous family, does, and may justly expect some practical good at the hands of legislators. Such men have long looked in vain for such action, as might benefit the poor man from those whom they placed in power. But they have discovered that their professed friends seemed more anxious to legislate foreigners into landed estates than they might secure their votes, than to do justice to those whose profession ex-

cluded them from the benefits of a western home. But now they take men from their own ranks, conversant with the hardships and wants of the people, and they will not disappoint their expectations.

Another principle of the new order is, no union of Church and State. Their opponents have, either ignorantly or designedly, grossly misrepresented them. The cry of proscription for conscience sake, is the figment of disordered brains and lacerated hopes—and is supposed to be efficacious in bringing back those who have passed from the old ranks. Proscription—bah! when a fundamental principle enunciated is—**NO UNION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.** They will cherish both, but will not suffer an amalgamation. Things were tending in that direction so palpably, as to call up the American party to stem the tide, and roll back the current of sympathy which was bearing our political leaders and our precious interests, to the unfathomable bosom of Holy Mother Rome. That power, ever ready for self-aggrandizement, looked with a wistful eye to the dominion of this broad land. The Mississippi valley would have made more than a second Italy. It would have been a magnificent seat for the sovereign Pontiff, and then it would have been not only far more beautiful and extensive than the states now subject to the triple crown, but it would have yielded

such handsome revenues. The Pope of Rome could have made it quite convenient, to shift the seat of his dominion from the seven hills to that broad valley, seeing that he would not have broken the hearts of his people by leaving them. And though danger, perhaps disaster, might have befallen that venerable relic, the chair of St. Peter, in its transit over the waters, or like Peter himself, might have gone down into the waves, yet as he professes to be invested with the attributes of Deity—he might have commanded the sea to yield up the treasure. And then, too, that noble stream—the father of rivers—would in point of majesty, have accorded much better with the boasted extent and magnificence of the Catholic Church, while it might have been a practical illustration by the filth gathered from afar and near, of the corruption of that mammoth mother of pollution. And while it would have been much more convenient for Arch John to go for his red cap, it would have been in all respects rather a desirable change from the narrow limits of the present papal sovereignty, to the possession of a country washed by the Atlantic and Pacific and filled with invaluable treasures.

But as an old tutor used to tell us when he interposed his respectable proportions between us and some fondly planned enjoyment—"Boys, there is many a slip between the cup and the

lip;" or as the old nurse would have it, "Don't count your chickens before they are hatched." So these scarlet-robed counsellors were making their calculations without paying proper attention to what Paschal terms for them, proximate and not proximate causes. Their leaders in this country were cunning, but not cautious. They became too ardent in their hopes, and by a premature bound dashed to atoms the fair fabric of Catholic supremacy, which had already loomed out to their excited fancy in all the wealth of its magnificent proportions. The war proclamation of Hughes, and the premature visit of Bedini, spoiled all their plans. The American eagle was not so firmly chained as they had anticipated, and when the noble bird felt the pressure of an iron hand, it scorned the touch, and bursting its fetters soared once more with outspread pinions towards the sun.

Though much had been conceded to the Catholic power, many leading politicians were under obligations to its priesthood, and things had reached such a point, that a little more success would have formed a connecting link between the Church and the state; but that sleepless angel of Liberty, that has poised with outspread wings over our republic from its infancy to the present hour, averted the terrible disaster with which we were threatened.

A mysterious power brooded over the minds

and played amid the emotions of Americans. One man expressed his fears, and proposed the plan which he had conceived absolutely essential to save us from foreign domination—and behold his neighbor had the same thoughts and apprehensions, and another, and another coincided—so that it appeared that the patriotic all over this land had the same convictions and like feelings as to their duty; and hence this spontaneous and universal rising to resist papal aggressions. We fearlessly assert, that the man who would not join his exertions with his brothers to prevent such a calamity as the union of Church and State, is not a true citizen, and not worthy of a grave in the soil that he would not defend from the blight of the worst of all curses, that ever emptied their woes upon our wretched race.

These then are the great, and leading principles of the American party. What man can object to them? Will an American in whose heart burn the fires of a lofty patriotism? Surely not. They are sound maxims, consonant with the genius of our constitution and in harmony with the sublimest deductions of reason. The last principle stated is of such vital importance and of such infinite magnitude that we might fill volumes with illustrations of the evils that flow from the unnatural blending of civil and ecclesiastical power, which the new party labors to prevent. Although I may not enlarge

on this point, I cannot pass without suffering another who was reared amid the influences where the Church rules the state, to present one form of these evils. Helvetius, while considering in his philosophy the constitution of the Jesuit order, as it relates to their ambitious aspirings, remarks—"The Jesuits sought credit, power and importance, and obtained them in the Catholic courts. What means did they employ for this purpose? Terror and seduction. What rendered them formidable to princes? The union of their will with that of their general. The ancients could not have solved the following political problem, 'How one man from the centre of a monastery can rule an infinity of others, dispersed over different climates, and subject to different laws and sovereigns? How this man, often at immense distances, can preserve an authority over his subjects sufficient to make them at his pleasure move, act, think, and constantly regulate their conduct by the ambitious views of their order?' Before the institution of monasteries, this would have appeared the problem of a madman. It would have been ranked with the Platonic chimeras. This chimera has however been realized." This dreaded order, this terrible combination of men is in our midst. In our government, they are moulding public sentiment, and their hellish plots to subjugate this nation to the papacy, are silently laid and resolutely

carried forward toward their consummation. This same writer, though reared in the bosom of that church, says again, "In the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, want and stupidity reign; in the Protestant cantons, plenty and industry; popery, therefore, is destructive to empires."

It is not the purpose of the American party to persecute or extinguish this system, but to keep it within its appropriate limits. They may worship as they please, and proselyte as many bishops, and senators or citizens, as they can; but they shall not grasp the reins of government—for while we allow them freedom, we mean to remain free ourselves. After an impartial examination of this new creed, I can see nothing but that which will foster virtue, promote the happiness of the people, and therefore the interests of the nation. He alone can oppose useful reformation in the state, who, founding his grandeur on the debasement and misery of his fellow-citizens, would usurp an arbitrary power over them. But the honest man, the friend of truth and of his country, can have no interest contrary to that of his nation. When we are happy in the happiness of the nation, and glorious in its glory, we ardently desire the correction of every abuse. A science is not annihilated by being improved, nor a government destroyed by being reformed.

CHAPTER IV.

THE OBJECTS WHICH THIS ORGANIZATION AIMS TO
ACCOMPLISH.

AMONG the objects which the American party proposes to pursue and accomplish, we place first a change in the Naturalization laws. Intelligent men, whether identified or not with the new party, have long since felt and acknowledged the disastrous evils which flow from the sudden transformation of foreigners into citizens. So marked and wide-spread are the evils complained of, that they are the frequent theme of comment among our reflecting citizens. That they have not been modified before, is to be partly ascribed to that noble characteristic of the American mind, its reluctance to touch a thing that has become sacred by time-honored and eventful associations. It is an instinct of human nature to cling fondly to that which has originated with our fathers; and this feeling, though it cherishes even an insignificant relic, is to be commended.

Men are slow in changing their customs, and still tardier in making a change in their laws. But we are endowed with reason as well as

feeling, and when the importance of an emergency demands it, the former must triumph over the latter. In regard to the Naturalization laws, they are venerable, not simply because they are the enactments of our patriotic ancestors, but also because they are co-existent with our republic. The nation has grown and prospered. For more than half a century, it is maintained, that those statutes have worked well, and we admit that the evils incident to their operation have been modified and subdued by other influences, so that no irreparable disaster has yet issued from their abuse. Our nation has gone forward and in its growth has incorporated into its own system the foreign elements that were continually flowing into its bosom without producing any far-reaching injury. But that no very disastrous results have been realized from the great facility with which aliens are invested with the prerogatives of citizenship, should not blind us to the fact that the laws unchanged may prove ruinous in the future. The human body may inhale a large amount of pestilential atmosphere, and still continue to throw off its debilitating effects; but there is a point when, if kept in contact with the noxious elements, it can offer no more resistance, but must yield up its health and life; and in like manner may the body politic for a long period receive into its system elements destructive to its health without

giving way; but if it becomes surcharged with these, it may have its strength gradually exhausted and finally yield to the power of corruption. While we regard the laws under discussion in this light, and look upon them as the means of introducing into our system much that is detrimental to a sound and lasting national prosperity, we are clearly of the opinion that unless some radical change takes place in relation to the admission of foreigners to citizenship, they will work disastrous ruin to our institutions.

Men frequently rely too much upon the past, for the character of the future, and in nothing may we be more deplorably deceived than in a case like this. They tell us that these laws have worked well, that it was a wise political measure, and that a judicious execution of them will continue to work good. Here we raise an issue. I maintain that laws may and justly do receive their complexion from the circumstances of the times in which they are framed; nay, that the condition of the people may not only have dictated the character of legislative enactments, but a change of those circumstances may as peremptorily demand a modification of those laws to suit their altered condition, and sometimes a total abrogation of statutes when they prove hostile to their interests. Now what were the circumstances under which the Naturalization laws were formed? In regard to ourselves

manifestly these — we were an infant nation, standing in need of men, with an immense territory and a long line of unprotected coast, and a powerful kingdom in a threatening attitude towards us. Our very existence was in peril, nothing was therefore more important to us than the rapid growth of our numerical strength. It was an object of paramount importance at the time, to have our lands occupied, our solitudes peopled, our roads opened, and our cities built. Such is not our condition now. There is at present no common danger whose external pressure can unite men of different nationalities in one body, to resist the encroachments of a terrible enemy. Much of our territory is peopled, our wide domain is rapidly filling up, our coasts are protected, our cities built, our roads and canals constructed, and we should now guard against the evils which do accompany the unparalleled influx of foreigners; so that they may not be prematurely invested with that power which in unskilful or designing hands might convert this asylum for the down-trodden of earth into a despotism of oppression.

But there has been another change wrought in our condition worthy of consideration. In the infancy of our national existence there was nothing to appeal to the ambition of strangers, nothing to kindle hopes of gain, nothing to inflame those powerful passions in human nature,

the love of power and pleasure. Neither could a love of ease or indolence have any hope of gratification in a comparatively new country. Pickpockets would not promote their interests by coming where the pockets were all empty, and convicts were not then released and sent here to try their fortunes. The immigrants of those times were men who came with a view to enter the various pursuits of human industry. They came to seek a home for themselves and their children. And from men who felled the forest, turned up the virgin soil, built their cabins along the borders of civilized life, or entered some other laudable vocation, and thus contributed to the strength and wealth of the nation, no danger could be apprehended.

The vicious and the idle had no inducements to leave the old world to seek subsistence in the new. They would fare better in the old cities, or in the more populous countries of Europe, for there they might possibly live without toil, but here it was work or die. Those, therefore, who would fly to our shores then, were essentially different in their principles and character from the vast majority of those who now form that unbroken current which is pouring its millions upon our soil. They were men in whom the love of liberty was predominant, and whose souls throbbed with aspirations after freedom—men who fled from civil and religious oppression—

men who either came for conscience sake, or in obedience to those noble impulses which inclined them to a nation of freemen. But the state of things is materially altered. Now while there are doubtless noble and excellent persons among those coming into our midst, a large proportion are unquestionably totally destitute of those elements of character, which our laws should require before adopting them as citizens. Some are idlers, who would subsist on the industry of others; others prove themselves the most infamous characters,—adepts in all that is base, and proficient in villany. Paupers sent over at the public expense, to be nourished in our almshouses or prisons. Criminals, who, instead of being transported to Botany Bay, are sent to America. It is a notorious fact that European governments have furnished passports and means to their refuse and pestilential population to emigrate to the United States. Recently a few of these were sent back from Boston, but thousands and tens of thousands remain. It was never the intention of the founders of our government to make citizens out of criminals or to invest such with the glorious, but in vile hands, dangerous right of suffrage, when they adopted our Naturalization laws.

— Those enactments were adapted to the then existing state of things, to the nature of the times and the character of the men of that age,

and while we readily grant that they were then wise, just, and patriotic; the times and the people for whose benefit they were intended, are so altered that there is no longer that adaptation which existed at that period. We cannot be so unjust to the memory of those noble patriots as to entertain for a moment the idea, that if they were to legislate now upon the subject they would adopt the same provisions. No! it would be a libel on their wisdom, their patriotism, and their statesmanship, to maintain that, if living, they would leave these laws unaltered.

There are in all wisely constituted governments, some elementary principles which are permanent and admit of no change, while there are laws and regulations which are not immutable, but must undergo modifications to suit the necessities of the age, or the advanced condition of the nation. And while we regard the principles which make this land a home for the oppressed, as immutably fixed and perpetual elements in the charter of liberty, we resolutely maintain, that the laws relating to citizenship must in the very nature of things be subject to such reformatations as the emergencies which do arise may dictate, as best suited to promote our prosperity and happiness. It is as clear as a sunbeam to a large majority of the people of this country, that the time has fully come when the safety, the peace, and the perpetuity of this Union demand the change already indicated.

There are persons who object to a change in these statutes on the ground that it would be unjust and oppressive to the better class of immigrants, to exclude them for a long period from the rights of citizenship, because some of their number are in an unfit state for such privileges. To this objection, I reply that it is not oppressive or unjust to guard the rights and blessings of the whole even if such a measure would in some instances seem to aggrieve the individual. It is the duty of every member of this great commonwealth of freemen, whether fully invested or not with the prerogatives of a citizen, to sacrifice his personal good for the good of the public, if the case is such that one or the other must suffer.

If, therefore, the objection were founded in fact, the individual himself so aggrieved would by his complaint clearly establish his unfitness for the privilege for which he contends, because he is destitute of patriotism if he is unwilling to surrender what he conceives a personal benefit, for the greater advantage of the public. But the objection is destitute of truth. What claim has a foreigner upon our government? None whatever, except those of humanity or such as international law gives him. But who would have the presumption to maintain that the instincts of humanity make it the duty of government to invest him with all the immunities of citizenship, before the judgment of the nation

should pronounce him qualified? The obligations which humanity imposes are more than met and discharged when we give him a place and a habitation, and extend over his person and his property the shield of our laws, that he may be secure in all his interests as a man. In many instances these men never enjoyed the right of suffrage in their native land, and hence there can be no sacrifice on their part if denied the privilege of voting for a longer term of years, because they never were in possession of the right anywhere, and therefore could not surrender it.

There are numerous other and weighty reasons which may be urged for a change in the laws relating to this subject. It may be successfully urged that persons reared on a foreign soil, frequently with little or no mental culture when they arrive here, cannot possibly possess the needful qualifications of citizenship after the few years' residence which is now the only condition. It is not unreasonable to maintain that even a residence of fifteen or more years is absolutely essential in most instances before a man can vote intelligently. Granted that a few are educated, yet their ideas of government have been formed under such adverse circumstances, that their opinions need to be recast before they could intelligently participate in public affairs. Others have no intellectual culture whatever, and have such occupations, tendencies, and im-

pulses that they do none of their own thinking, nor are their votes governed by a conviction of the excellence of the men and measures they support. It is no disparagement to them to assume this fact: the same might be equally true of Americans in reversed circumstances. That our adopted population is guided by the will of others can be easily demonstrated, nay we have ocular demonstration of it at every election. They move in a mass, they vote in the same way, think alike, and act alike, thus giving conclusive evidence that they are the pliant instruments of subtle politicians, or the obedient executioners of the will of their spiritual superiors. Where the priest uses no influence, which is rarely the case, they barter their votes to the highest bidder. The man who can present the most magnificent promises which he never intends to fulfil, or minister most abundantly to their appetites, he is their man. If I were disposed to record scenes which came under my observation where this foreign vote has been cast without intelligence or will on their part, I could multiply most shameful abuses of the right of suffrage.

A change in our Naturalization laws is absolutely demanded by considerations of our safety. It is an incontrovertible fact, that a large majority of these foreigners range themselves under the banner of socialism, of freethinkers, or Jesuits. All these classes are hostile to the interests of

this land. Their principles are in conflict with those of a sound morality, and subversive of civil government. Their peculiarities and their designs will be more fully unfolded as we progress in this discussion; at present, I will only state that their numerical strength is such as to inspire the thoughtful with apprehensions for our safety. A writer from the West recently stated in a communication to a leading periodical, that in a certain city there are 60,000 Germans, and an equal number of Irish in a population of 200,000. These, though divided in their religious sentiments, manifest a singular unanimity in their hostility to all the leading interests of America. Suffer this influx of foreigners to continue for ten years, and clothe them as rapidly as they arrive on our shores with the right of suffrage, and no man may predict the result. Certain it is that the Catholic power joined with those who are hostile to the Bible, to the Sabbath, and to public schools, could ere long place it beyond the power of Americans to control the government of this land. It would inevitably pass under foreign rule, or if a native citizen should hold the reins of government, he would be subject to the dictation of this very material.

The reflecting and more sterling part of both the great political parties, have long seen and deplored the subserviency of their prominent men

and leaders to the foreign element. The people waited patiently and long for such independent and patriotic action on the part of our legislators as would keep these intruders in their appropriate position and rid the country of those abuses in our government which have grown out of the Naturalization laws in their present form, but their expectations were disappointed. Indeed, all hope of remedying these evils through the old parties was relinquished, for aspirants to official stations were too anxious to conciliate the good will and secure the votes of foreigners, even to propose a modification of these laws.

There was therefore no other alternative but to break loose from party restraints and unite as Americans to resist foreign aggression, by choosing their own men without the aid of congressmen or demagogues, and electing them to office. It is the only way in which the proposed change can be accomplished. And it is their only safety, and therefore they wisely determined to seek out the most competent men for rulers. If we look at the men who have recently been elected to responsible stations, we cannot but admire the sound judgment which was exercised in their nomination and election. The Mayors of Philadelphia and Baltimore are sterling men, eminently fitted to assist in creating a sound public sentiment, and to originate and carry out measures that will elevate and strengthen our social system.

As in reference to all the other objects which the American party proposes to accomplish, so also against this has the cry of proscription been raised; but as I shall have occasion to examine this subject more thoroughly in my reply to the letter of the Hon. H. A. Wise, I will then weigh the merit of this charge and dispose of it as it deserves.

But another object of this organization is to cultivate and promote true patriotism. This exalted object, in the estimation of the wisest statesmen and most renowned philosophers, can only be attained by a well-digested system of popular education. Such a system must not be purely intellectual, but also moral. While they do not presume to imitate the arrogance of the papists by setting themselves up as intolerant dictators of the faith of these millions, they would yet insist on such a course of instruction in our public schools as will improve the intellect, while it inspires the hearts of the young with sentiments of Christian morality. We are a Christian nation, so recognized by others, and so regarded by the ablest statesmen that our country has produced. And how is this character of the nation to be perpetuated—by what means is this feature to be kept alive? Manifestly by the means employed in the education of the young. Our children are to be the future citizens and rulers of this great country, and if

the principles which we now cherish and the national Christian sentiments are to be perpetuated, the seed must be sown in the minds of the young.

The conservators of the public morals are sometimes admonished by those politicians who have arrogated to themselves the sole right to mould public opinion, not to pass from the sphere of their appropriate office by venturing an opinion concerning political or educational measures. These gentlemen impose the responsibility upon the clergy, and others, to keep clear the current of popular feeling; but why command that class of men to filter the waters of the foul stream, and not exercise the necessary precaution to keep the fountain pure. The public schools are indeed the true fountains of our national life. If corrupting influences are at work there, the nation will soon have flowing through all its vast channels those vitiating elements, and through all its vast proportions the blighting power of corrupt sentiments will be felt. The American party would not make the public school a nursery for sectarianism, nor introduce into it text-books of a denominational cast of doctrine; but they will maintain with the fathers of this land, that the Bible is not sectarian, that it is designed for all mankind, that it contains the best morality, the loftiest wisdom, the noblest examples for youth to copy, and

inculcates those virtues which exalt the individual and the nation, and is therefore the Book which ought to be read without note or comment in our schools; and they are constrained to regard those who are opposed to the reading of the Scriptures in the schools as alike the enemies of our Republic and of God. Its vast historical stores enrich the mind of the child as no other book can. Its unexplored and unfathomable depths have gems of wisdom far more brilliant than those which have shone in the works of the most distinguished philosophers. Eloquence, poetry, narrative, literature and morality such as we find nowhere else. "It is the Book of Books—its author, God—its theme heaven, eternity." To shut out the youth from this mine of intellectual and moral wealth would be tyranny of the worst form—this a PROSCRIPTION that might be mourned in the crash of a falling republic, and cursed in the funeral dirge of a nation of freemen.

They would moreover be judicious in the selection of such other books as may be necessary to imbue the youthful mind with healthy patriotic sentiments; but they would not consent to have pages expunged, because there may be a chapter on Luther and the Reformation, or because another contains the speech of William Pitt, as has been done through Popish influence. There are books now in existence that have been thus

mutilated, to gratify these uneasy persons. And there existed no conscientious objection to these parts; and that it was done for a different object, has been proved by a committee who visited the Romish schools and discovered those very books in use without any of those changes.

If, then, we would sum up the objects for which this organization is contending, we would find that their efforts are directed to a reformation of existing evils, and the promotion of pure patriotism. They are laboring to effect precisely what the purest and ablest men among Democrats and Whigs regard as patriotic and worthy objects of legislation. The leading political organs — for example, the Washington Union — have so far admitted the correctness of the views of the new order in regard to the Naturalization laws, as to say, that if the general sentiment of the people should demand a modification of those laws, the requirement should be conceded by the general government. Such an intimation has been thrown out by leading periodicals, and is now on the wing, and will soon be echoed through the land. But whether it was uttered with sincerity, or designed simply as a soporific to those in the ranks who were waking up to the importance of the measure promulgated by the American party, it is not my office to decide; still, it wears a doubtful aspect, and even if such are their present views, it seems like an attempt to steal the thunder of the new order.

And as to the other objects contemplated by the organization, they will be found, upon examination, truly American in sentiment and spirit — they are thought to be exalted and worthy, —blending with all the great interests of a free people, and fitted to strengthen and perpetuate our glorious institutions. What American heart could wish any of our privileges jeopardized or subverted by foreign influence? Who would not break through the trammels of party, and with heart and mind assist in breaking the snares which have been laid to bind and destroy this nation? Who that feels the stirrings of a noble spirit, that appreciates and glories in the blessings purchased by the blood of our venerated sires, would falter or hesitate when called upon to defend and preserve the bulwarks of freedom? It is not to inflict a wrong upon foreigners — not to injure a hair upon the head of the most devout papist, or any other citizen, that Americans are summoned to the scene of conflict — but to rear a wall of living hearts around our glorious confederacy, and avert those crushing calamities which are now impending. The true patriot would turn back the tide of corruption that threatens desolation to his land — he would hold back the iron hand that is ready to grasp the helm of government. He looks with a calm eye, and with an unquailing spirit, upon the storm of passion which has been rolling up its

dark masses and marshalling its artillery for an onset upon the citadel of Liberty; for he knows that the voice of Americans, as it will thunder from the ballot-box, will disperse these waterless clouds in our civil firmament, and our sun of prosperity will bathe the land of Washington with a quiet glory all the more brilliant, because in contrast with the retiring gloom.

They are noble objects for which the new party toils, objects which have in view the peace, harmony and stability of this Union — and hearts true to the altars of their country, and the glory of the nation, will arise to vindicate her honor, and herald to the ends of the earth, the decree of our fathers, that no other flag but that of the stars and stripes shall float over American soil, as long as the originals of those on our ensign shall flame in the quiet heavens above.

CHAPTER V.

THE NECESSITY OF SUCH AN ORGANIZATION EXAMINED

AN association of honorable men invariably presupposes the existence of an emergency or want at the time of its formation which it is intended to meet. Indeed we can only vindicate the propriety of keeping up any organization on the ground that it subserves a good purpose. Does this new party provide for any wants in the social state heretofore neglected? Does it propose the advocacy and the carrying out of such principles as will prove beneficial to the public? These questions we shall attempt to answer. The question has frequently been asked, why organize an American party, when the old parties could so modify or enlarge their platform as to admit any new principle that might be deemed necessary to accomplish the ends which the new one promises to effect? But I reply that there is much in the old organizations to constitute a necessity for an entirely new order. We readily grant that the originators of the two leading political parties were honora-

ble men and useful citizens—honest in their convictions, and acting from principle, not from impulse. They ranged themselves under the different banners according to their predilections for one or the other form of national policy proposed. So that the parties sprang from that difference in sentiment in relation to great political measures which good citizens are bound to respect. Doubtless sincere in their convictions and honest in their exertions to gain the mastery in their conflicts, the one would acquire the ascendancy over the other in proportion as their respective measures were popular or unpopular with the masses. But however well they subserved the purposes contemplated at the time of their organization, and however much both contributed to the prosperity of the country, and to the advancement of the great interests of a free nation, they have long since, like all humanly devised things, given unmistakable signs of corruption. Political organizations need repairing, and sometimes reconstruction, just as much as any other structure of which man is the author. Sometimes the building lacks a good foundation, or if it be of long standing, the dry-rot may so impair its timbers as to render it unsafe for those whom it was designed to shelter. Now whether it was owing to a doubtful foundation, to the dry or wet-rot, I do not affirm, but this is certain, that many of their

inmates were seriously impressed that their safety and the security of those great interests they were intended to protect, were endangered, and therefore fled from the tottering structures to a new refuge. This impulse of self-preservation has sadly reduced these old families; and while I would not appear officious in giving advice, it strikes me, as "discretion is the better part of valor," that those who continue faithful to the old structures had better cease scolding their friends who have withdrawn, and institute a thorough examination of the materials to which they trust their all, and save themselves, if not their edifice, from ruin. These two political structures may not have suffered so much from the storms and tempests which have swept our land, but even the long and burning rays of the sun of prosperity have no doubt seriously warped and otherwise damaged many of their timbers—so that while here and there you may find a block not moss-grown, or a beam that has escaped the rot, there are doubtless many darkly shaded, while others are alive with vermin, or have become the refuge of the moles and bats.

The most careless observer of passing events must have known, that for a number of years there has been a most shameful prostitution of valuable time to political intrigue and corruption. The whole year prior to the nominator

for the Presidency, Congress has been a scene of conflict between rival expectants or their friends, to the neglect of public business, and not unfrequently to the detriment of good manners and morals. Every speech, whatever its ostensible object may have been, was burdened with this absorbing theme, this one idea, until the whole land was thrown into a furor, and the desire came up from the humblest, as well as the most exalted, that the assembled *wisdom* of the nation might disperse and quiet be restored. The people, though they "don't know," as well as politicians — the people began to think that their money might be more profitably spent, and their wishes more legitimately carried out, if these gentlemen were occupied in such legislation as would promote the interests of commerce, of agriculture, of manufactures, of education, and such other things as might form appropriate objects for the consideration of their representatives. Buncomb speeches and occasional fights are perhaps well enough, just as bull-fights are in Spain, if the public taste corresponds with such amusements; but "not knowing" any better, the *people* were rather disgusted than pleased, and spoke to each other about reform. Another thing seemed to occasion a difficulty to their minds — they had been accustomed to hear themselves called "the dear people," "my fellow-citizens;" but somehow or

other, these officials soon forgot those endearing relations after they had received their votes. They were also called the *sovereigns*, in whom the powers of government resided; but it seemed, after all, that they had but little to do in electing rulers. The caucus at Washington decided the choice of the Presidential candidate, and this once fixed, he was labelled for the convention, and from thence sent out through the land, and the adherents of the party whipped into his support. The people, though they "did not know," began to think that it would be more honorable, and would make it possible to give their support to the man of their choice, if the custom of President-making at Washington were abolished, and the business of nominating a candidate for this high office were left to the delegates sent up to a convention by the people. Believing that this evil had attained to such a growth in both the leading parties that it could not be remedied by remaining in connection with them, they concluded to exercise their sovereignty in such a way as would effectually remove the wrong which they felt. The noble Clay had been sacrificed at a period when he might have been triumphantly elevated to the chair of State; and the venerable Cass, and others in both parties, among whom were the most eminent statesmen and purest patriots, were immolated on the altar of faction, and

made the victims of political intrigue, while men of moderate capacities, almost wholly destitute of the necessary qualifications, and with no merit as statesmen, were preferred.

But it is not my intention to specify to any great extent, the various and deep-seated corruptions which had gained the mastery over patriotism in the old organizations. There was scarcely a redeeming trait left in the character of those who ruled the old wigwams. It will be seen that they put a price upon every aspirant to office, and the great objects that ought to be influential in the choice of rulers were entirely lost sight of amid the dark corruptions which prevailed.

Whatever good the Whigs and Democrats may have done in former days, it was high time that an organization standing in immediate connection with the people should arise to vindicate our character and to rid the country of these abuses. Let us bring briefly under review some of the means which were employed to carry out their measures, and to secure their ends. It is a notorious fact, that the most barefaced corruption was practised—every state committee and vigilance committee was freely supplied with money to promote the success of the party. The candidates for office were expected to contribute an assessed sum, and every good member of the fraternity, and particularly every expectant of

future favors from the party dare not withhold his material aid, for the furtherance of the interests of the party. In the State of Maryland, prior to the adoption of the new constitution, votes were sold in some places at public auction, and since this open prostitution of the noblest right of a citizen is not allowed, the same is carried on secretly.

During an election a year ago, a certain class of men were loitering around the polls, and being asked, Have you voted? They replied, No! our rent is not paid; or, I need some flour, and can't vote until the rent is paid, or the flour procured. Of course these rents are always paid, and these other demands all met before the polls are closed. Is it not humiliating to a truly American spirit to witness such scenes, and is not the honor which attaches to official station of a doubtful character, when procured not by the intellectual or moral worth of the candidate, but for certain considerations agreed upon by the parties. Hence one of the most important items in the character of an aspirant is the amount of available means which he can bring with him into the field. Napoleon once said—"that every man had his price," and while we believe that many of our fellow-citizens would spurn the man and his impious bribes, there are victims of ambition who can be bought and sold like asses. Is it not high time to reform this

abuse? Do we not owe it to the memory of those distinguished and great departed men, who founded this empire of Liberty, as well as to our own character, to purge away this foul stain?

To corroborate the foregoing statement of the deep-seated corruption in the political world, I might quote the declarations of the leading papers of both political parties. Let us hear what a few of these say. A New York editor, commenting upon the recent election in that state, says: "More people were disappointed and grieved, than were pleased with the result of the election last week. It comes to pass that a governor is chosen by less than one-third of the people, and to whom more than two-thirds are opposed." The Albany Register holds the following language in the issue of November 9.

"There was never in a country with a free constitution, such utter tyranny as has existed in this State for the last twenty-five years. A tyranny that was just as potential in the suppression of popular sentiment, that controlled the political action of men just as effectually, as would a decree of the Russian Czar the sentiment or action of his serfs. The instrumentalities by which that tyranny was supported too were of the vilest kind. The great motor was the primary meetings, and these had come to be made up in the main, of the vilest and most

worthless people, in our cities especially—men that were never seen except on the recurrence of those meetings, and possibly on the days of election; men who were fished up for the purpose from the stews of debauchery, from the grog-shops and filthy alleys; men of violence and disorder, steaming with licentiousness and shouting blasphemies. With such a class decent men would not associate in the primary meetings, and as a consequence did not frequent them. Yet just such men, as a matter of fact, controlled nominations, and dictated as to who should be our public officers. Everybody knew this. Political knaves gloried in it because it was the basis of their power. Yet such was the degree of moral courage required to break up such a stupendous system of corruption, that few would venture upon the experiment. Those who did thus venture were set upon and hunted down. The same vile instruments, the same despicable pack that controlled the primary elections, were let loose upon any man who ventured to question the potency of caucus dictation, and like hungry hounds were put upon his trail, and they followed him with open mouths and ravenous jaws until his influence was utterly destroyed, and he was worried into submission or political death."

The New York Observer in commenting upon this language, remarks—"This is not a confession or complaint of one party only. It is not

denied that the same abuses have become common to all political parties of this country at the present day,—that the abuses have become intolerable and ought to be redressed. The Reform Committee, on the eve of the late election, put forth a circular stating the means by which nominations are obtained, and disclosing a degree of profligacy that fairly causes a shudder, when we think that our lives and property are in the hands of men thus foisted into high office. After exposing the bribery and corruption between candidates of opposite parties in different wards, who sell to each other the votes of their friends at the primary meetings, where Whigs vote in Democratic boxes, and vice versa, the committee proceeds to say :

“ Under this system of Primary Elections, there have grown up a large class of men known in the slang of the city as ‘suckers’ and ‘strikers.’ The ‘strikers’ are a bold class of marauders, who ‘come down’ upon a candidate for a place, and demand of him money, with threats that if he does not give it, they will be down upon him in the Primary Elections, or in the Nominating Conventions,—and who generally frighten timid or corrupt men into pay. These ‘strikers’ and ‘suckers’ make it their trade to get upon the Nominating Committee, and in connection with outside forces, they generally succeed. The man who does not wish to be known as taking money

in person, puts into these nominating committees these 'strikers' and 'suckers,' and they notoriously sell their votes not alone to the highest bidder, but often over and over again to all the bidders; and hence it is well known that the Nominating Committees are more or less as marketable as cattle, or slaves in the slave-pen—not for one sale, however, as are cattle and slaves, but over and over again, at the same moment, to different buyers, according as they find dupes to dupe, or aspirants to buy them.”

This and much more of the same sort is given as an exposition of New York politics. The *Courier and Enquirer* said a few days before their recent election—"We have it from Mr. Wood's own lips, that his majority is to be at least five thousand, and that he is in a position that enables him to put his enemies at defiance. In his own strong language, he might even commit a murder in his own household without endangering his success at the polls next Tuesday."

The *Evening Post* of nearly the same date, according to the *N. Y. Observer*, says: "His (Mr. Wood's) motives for making the extraordinary exertions which he has made, and for encountering the obloquy which was sure to follow his nomination for the office of Mayor, if correctly communicated to us, and we have no doubt they were, are creditable to him, and aid in some

measure to reconcile us to his success. He felt oppressed *by the weight of suspicion that was resting upon his character*, and concluded that the best way to be relieved was to set to work and build up a new one." There—that may be sufficient for the present. If this be a fair representation of the condition of the old parties, no wonder that Mr. Douglas protested so strongly against the entering of the New England clergymen into the "muddy pools of politics." We join with Mr. Douglas in this protest, though we should rejoice if these divines could exert some purifying charm upon "these dirty pools," and change them into pure fountains. Alas! what acknowledged degeneracy in these once pure organizations! Who can look upon their fall without sincere regret? and who that has a spark of patriotism within him but earnestly longs for their purification?

But the purity, the rectitude and honorable course of action of former days can only be restored by a new organization, in which no corrupt or unworthy principle shall be tolerated. There are enough pure men in both the old parties to form a new one that will not sanction such abuses. And we have entirely misapprehended the elements of character in those who compose the American party, if they would not indignantly spurn from their ranks such as would *inflict a stain upon the national honor by such*

abuses as those to which I have already referred. No! we trust that if an unworthy member does occasionally appear, he will be instantly removed, for by this means alone will they be able to bring back those ancient but stern virtues, which shone in the characters of our fathers, and were justly the glory of the American people. They will select those for rulers who are properly qualified, and whose instincts are truly republican. There has been already too much corruption among office-makers, and it is time that the infamous business of buying and selling should be stopped. The people have too long endured this truckling to a foreign power, by submitting to that class of men spoken of above—and they desire no more exhibitions of sympathy on the part of venerable Senators for the Pope's Nuncio. They were deeply grieved to witness the efforts of those loaded with the highest honors of their country, to add another leaf to their chaplets, and that, too, of foreign growth, by their defence of the brutal and infamous Bedini. While the American party will doubtless extend to all mankind the privilege of locating among us, and of enjoying equal rights as to the protection of property and life, they will not suffer the exaltation of ambitious foreigners to the detriment of American citizens.

It is therefore manifest, that there are those

things in both the great political parties which made it absolutely essential for those not partaking of their corruptions, to come out from among them and exercise their rightful independence in the choice of rulers. A large number of the most respectable men in both parties, for years past refused to pronounce the shibboleth of their respective organizations, and would not support nominees irrespective of their fitness. These have usually made selections from both tickets, and have supported those whom they considered the most capable and worthy. If their former friends complain of the new order, if they are confounded and irritated—if they look with sad hearts upon the utter ruin of their schemes, and deplore the extinguishment of their fond hopes concerning some of their idols—the bitterest of all reflections associated with their defeats is that they have dug their own graves, and must now sing their own political funeral dirge!

They presumed too much upon the ignorance or forbearance of the people. If they “did not know” all the unfaithfulness and corruption that reigned in the councils at Washington and elsewhere, they knew enough to disgust them with many of their proceedings, and to convince them of the absolute necessity of a new organization. The time, moreover, for its formation could not

have been more auspicious: old party issues had passed away, and there was scarcely anything left but the name to divide the people. Political science had reached that stage of development, when those who were actuated by principles of pure patriotism could coalesce without sacrificing any of their cherished sentiments. Indeed, they were prepared to cast away those principles in both platforms that were useless, and retain such as were sound. In thus rejecting the worthless and uniting the excellent, they may constitute the best political basis ever formed. This fusion of Whig and Democratic principles, acknowledged to be just and patriotic, they offer to the American people as a creed made up of sentiments approved by the wisest statesmen of the past, and advocated by the most exalted of the present day.

In other words, it will be a collection of jewels, a combination of those brilliant dogmas evolved by the powerful intellects of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Calhoun, Webster, and others. The creed of the American party is their best vindication against the charge of fanaticism and weakness, for it is, after all, no new theory of government which they propose, but a carrying out of those patriotic sentiments which have, from time to time, been thrown off for our country's history by her noblest

intellects, and whose valuable influence would have been lost amid the rubbish of the old party distinctions. The fact, I think, is therefore clearly made out and established beyond the possibility of doubt, that an American party was loudly demanded by considerations of policy, and became unavoidable from the condition of the old parties.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EXIGENCIES OF THE TIMES DEMAND AN AMERICAN PARTY.

HUMANITY, in its existing state, must produce the most serious reflections in thoughtful minds. The aspects of the world plainly indicate that a momentous era is at hand—that events pregnant with tremendous realities are about to burst upon mankind. The journals in all climes are chronicling the most startling occurrences. The nations of the earth are in a highly excited state. There are scenes of commotion wherever we look! Agitations that reach to the profoundest depths of the social structure, and causing kingdoms to vibrate to their centres. Hoary despotisms are lifted from the foundations of centuries—thrones are trembling like aspen leaves in the gale. Turning to the old world, we behold scenes of carnage and blood! The human family is like a sea, on which the passions of men are blowing from every point, lashing it into terrible commotion, while the maddened billows of power are here and there engulfing some cherished interest, or some brilliant hopes.

China has been waked from the repose of centuries, and is now heaving upon waves of passion. The conflict between the crescent and the cross has involved in its issues the most powerful empires of the old world. There is not a kingdom that is not agitated with painful apprehensions, or that is not now contending for its existence. Though we are far removed from those scenes of foreign conflict, we cannot remain unaffected by them. We are united to those nations not only by those bonds of sympathy which make the interests of humanity common, but commerce, with all its facilities for intercommunication, makes us partakers of the elements which enter into their conflicts, and sharers in the issues to which they will give rise. We live in no ordinary times. This period of our world's history is intensely interesting. It is a period of great struggles. Not only is the din of arms and the shock of contending armies echoed through the earth—but there is a mighty collision of principles involving the highest, and most sacred interests of the race.

A war of principles is the most exciting and the noblest of all conflicts. It is one which calls forth and ranges on the sides of the combatants our liveliest sympathies. Who does not now feel an intense interest in that struggle going on between despotism and freedom? Between error and truth? Between superstition and

religion? As these principles aim at a universal influence in their dominion and bearings, they must affect all mankind. It cannot be a matter of indifference to us whether one or the other triumphs, forasmuch as the result must exert an influence beneficial or adverse upon us. If the old despotisms are re-established, they will become more impregnable than ever, and it will become more difficult for this nation to execute its mission of diffusing the principles of liberal institutions and humane laws throughout the world. If the aspirations for freedom which are now throbbing through those empires shall be transformed into glorious realizations, the contributions from those countries to our population will more readily become Americanized when once upon our shores. Every victory of truth over error wherever achieved, will add force to the efforts made here for its advancement and supremacy—and the triumphs of an uncorrupted Christianity over superstition, will infuse fresh energy into those benevolent schemes which contemplate the universal prevalence of pure religion.

In view, therefore, of these plain but incontrovertible facts, I am clearly of the opinion that the exigencies of the times imperatively demand an association of American citizens, truly patriotic and Christian in its character. I am aware that there has been a singular and decided

aversion on the part of many to the blending of civil and religious influences. It has sometimes formed a powerful objection to a popular movement, because Christianity has been remotely associated with it. Politicians seemed to dread contact either with the Gospel or those who espoused it, for what reason they knew best. For some years the national tendencies seemed strongly towards infidelity—but happily there is a change working in national sentiment on this subject. It is one of the most agreeable features of Mr. Wise's recent production, (to which we will in due time pay our respects,) that he attempts to vindicate some of the positions assumed by the principles of the Gospel.

But while the religious aspect assigned to the American party is avowedly the most objectionable feature to its opponents, I am disposed to regard this element in the new order as its most admirable virtue, and one which will not only commend it to the ablest and best men, but will secure for it an immortality which none other can boast. And why should it be considered an improper departure of the Gospel from its appropriate sphere when it exerts its elevating and purifying influences upon an association of intelligent men, so that they respect its teachings and regulate their conduct in civil life by its precepts? Even a theory of government drawn from it would honorably compare with

those of the ablest statesmen that ever lived. Are not the finest gold and the most precious gems in our noble Declaration of Independence from the Gospel mine? Where else, and in what code of ethics is the equality and unity of mankind taught? What other system can be compared with it, in clearly apprehending, in forcibly stating, and justly requiring the duties which we owe to each other as members of the same social fraternity, as well as to those in authority over us? This affected horror of an influence so ennobling and so healthful in a party is simply ridiculous, not to apply a harsher epithet. Why should not the religious element which regulates all the springs of action be associated with the political? It cannot impair the ability of citizens rightly to discharge their duties. Was there ever a purer patriot, an abler warrior, a profounder statesman, or a better citizen than George Washington? And if prayer and the principles of the Gospel did not disqualify nor corrupt the father of our country, but guided and preserved him while shaping and presiding over the interests of the nation, will not these influences have a like efficacy upon those who are his worthy successors? If Webster has left it as the conviction of his lofty intellect, that Christianity forms an integral part of our political system, why should it not be suffered to influence our action as citizens, and

beautify and strengthen our noble institutions? If Cass uttered it as the deliberate conviction of his master-mind and richly-stored intellect, that our Republic can only be preserved by a pure Christianity, why raise a cry of horror, as though some fatal innovation were set on foot, when men claim as a political right protection in their religious interests? The American party asks no legislation for Protestantism, and will suffer none for Catholicism, but demands what the Constitution of this great confederacy guarantees to all its citizens, untrammelled freedom to worship God according to the dictates of conscience, or, if any choose, not to worship at all—where then is there room for censure?

I contend that the circumstances which brought about the present issue, and the very nature of the conflict to which the new order has risen, make it eminently proper that the religious element, and those views of free religious worship already indicated, should enter prominently into the contest. This freedom of conscience, and the rights of the ministers of religion, have been threatened and denounced. On the one hand, Bishop Hughes, in his reply to General Cass on religious toleration, would make liberty of conscience consist in its inherent or natural properties. He maintains that the freedom of conscience can never be violated—that none can penetrate the fortress—that it is free amid the

fires of the stake, or when the body is galled and wasted by chains, or starved amid the filth of a dungeon. But, however these views of religious freedom may suit Rome, and however significant and pregnant with meaning this exposition of the inalienable prerogatives of conscience may be, should the papal power become dominant in this country, Americans would not relish such freedom, and what is obvious, will never consent to it here, nor endorse it anywhere else. The case, then, assumes this aspect; if the high functionaries of that spiritual despotism, with all the power they can wield, if the entire Catholic communion occupies the same position as its leaders, if they act as one man, because impelled by one will, and having one aim, the subjection of our country to the Pope, is it not right, is it not just, is it not a sacred duty on the part of Americans, whether practical Christians or not, whether ecclesiastics or private members, so that they only love equal rights and religious toleration, and deprecate such views of religious freedom as Bishop Hughes offers, to unite their exertions against the enemies of our liberties? Nothing could be more just. But it is not from Catholics alone that danger is to be apprehended, but socialists and infidels; those men who would paralyze the arm of public authority, when it is extended to prevent their impious deeds—men

who would tear our noble charter into fragments, and shiver our social structure to atoms, if they could command the power, as they have the will. They are impatient to abolish every sabbath law, consume every sanctuary, break every marriage tie, and turn this land into a brothel and Pandemonium. Shall not the friends of order, of purity, of virtue, of humanity and religion, unite to silence these impudent foreigners? Ay, if we should refuse to do so, the very soil hallowed by the blood of our noble sires would cry out against us. If we would not rise to vindicate their principles and our country's honor, we would deserve the reprobation of mankind and be forced to reproach ourselves, for suffering those dire calamities to darken and oppress the land, which these leagued powers would bring upon us.

One reason which causes men to look with distrust upon any combination of political and religious elements, or to suspect a political dogma which may have sprung from the religious sense of the people, is, no doubt, owing to the instinctive dread which every American has of the union of church and state. Such a result, however, could never take place from any combination of Protestant men, for the obvious reason that, if sufficiently powerful to control the public mind, the movement would necessarily comprehend a great variety of reli-

gious creeds, none of which would accept of civil power, nor allow it in any that might. It is idle to imagine such a result, for it could not, in the nature of things, occur. It is even one of the fundamental principles of the American party, to oppose all tendencies of this kind, wherever found. If it be said that such monstrous unions exist between the temporal and spiritual powers in Protestant as well as Catholic countries, such a combination of causes could never take place in a republic as to produce such a result. It never has taken place where distinct denominations have existed; it never can, unless all men of different creeds would become subject to one, which is totally out of the question. So far, therefore, from deprecating the religious element in the new party, we regard it as an auspicious feature, commending itself to the judgment of good citizens.

But there is another view of the subject deserving our consideration. Many distinct nationalities flow together, and must blend into one, to insure harmony and permanency to our government. But which of all these is to predominate and absorb all the rest? Most assuredly the American. Having received contributions from all nations, they must give up their peculiarities and become American in feeling, in thought, and in devotion to our

republic, before they can be considered good citizens; and, made up of so many and essentially different materials, our nation has most to fear from the resistance which these offer, in this process of assimilation, which must go on, as long as this influx of a foreign population continues. We find, however, among those who profess to be citizens, men who are still subject to a foreign potentate and sworn to render him absolute obedience; and how they can be faithful to two sovereigns at the same time, would require the most skilful Jesuitical sophistry to show; to us it is an absurdity. In view, therefore, of these different nationalities which are found amongst us, it is absolutely necessary to have an efficient American organization, so as to give the appropriate prominence to those peculiarities which pertain to us as a republican people, that the influence exerted upon the various classes who shelter under our banner may so transform them as to become thoroughly imbued with our nationalities. It is only in this way that we can hope to benefit them, and protect ourselves. Our true interests as Americans must be thoroughly understood by ourselves, if we would be prepared to defend them when occasion requires. That such a period has dawned, I think, is too obvious for any one to doubt. It is true, no appeal to arms is necessary, for we possess the requisite civil and

moral force to avert such a calamity; but then we may not, with impunity to our interests, withhold that influence which it is in our power to wield. The politician may find ample security against all real or supposed dangers in our laws, and regard our constitution impregnable against all attempts to subvert our liberties; but the statesman and philosopher, who have carefully studied the beginning and progress of our national existence, will only rely upon our laws while these derive their potency from the virtue and intelligence of the people. Republics are not so much governed by outward constraint as by inward principle; and such has been and is still the experience of mankind. This nation is indebted to Christianity, more than to anything else, for its existence, its growth, and prosperity. It was under the force of those motives which Christianity inspires, that a few men, without wealth or ample resources, first reared the standard of freedom. "That great event," says a distinguished writer, "the American Revolution, would never have been achieved, but for Christianity. Political society moved on the axis of religion." The religious movement gave birth and character to the social: "men, who knew that there could be a church without a bishop, knew that there could be a state without a king." On that memorable occasion, when the delegates from

the different colonies were assembled to form a declaration of rights, such was the conflict of opinion, that there was imminent danger of a dissolution of the assembly, without framing a bond of union against their oppressors, when it was proposed by one of their number that prayer should be offered; and, after imploring the wisdom which cometh from above, they succeeded in forming that basis upon which our political edifice has grown and expanded, until it has become the admiration of the world. As in its origin, so also in its growth, is our nation mainly indebted to the instrumentalities of the gospel. It gave rise to that system of education which has made our population more generally intelligent than that of any other nation, except Germany. The same agency produced all those benevolent institutions where the unfortunate find comfortable homes. We are indebted to its influence for the consecration of those great intellects which have illumined the high places of our Republic to the interests of patriotism and virtue. And what shall we say of its moulding, guiding, and restraining agency upon our vast population? You cannot govern a free people without religion, and the motives of eternity which it inspires. A religious sentiment among the people is indispensably necessary to carry out the designs of civil government, and motives which lay hold on the world to come are needed

to restrain men from disturbing the peace and happiness of society. The history of the past is prolific in proofs of the weakness and utter inefficiency of human laws, where these are not associated with the retributions of eternity. It is, therefore, not simply impolitic, but suicidal, to attempt to neutralize or destroy the religious element in our political system; for this would strike away the strongest pillars of our Republic. But this is precisely what many of these foreigners are aiming to effect. They have labored long and assiduously to create a train of influences which might weaken, and ultimately extinguish, those religious sentiments of our people which now mould the public conscience. And while such efforts are put forth, shall we not rise up to plead for and to defend our altars? If there can be an emergency to justify the origin of an association under an existing pressure or an impending evil, such a necessity called the American party into being. The great conflict of those everlasting and inestimable principles which is now raging over the earth, must unquestionably be decided here. In this land will the fate of humanity be determined. The scene is happily chosen for the final struggle—there is a fitness between the magnificence of this country and the vast and far-reaching issues which are here to be decided. Behold this land! Is it not

great in all its features? Look at its natural greatness! What an area of territory! what magnificent rivers, mountains, lakes and seas! Examine the business operations of this country; they are all on a large scale, which is ever widening and enlarging. The commercial interests of this nation have, from the beginning of its existence, been rising, until every sea is whitened with our sails; and they will doubtless progress until we shall surpass all our rivals. From these and other considerations, not only the wise of the present day, but the judicious and far-seeing minds of other times, have predicted the coming of this warfare and the field of decisive action. The conflict is at hand—and the American party may be looked upon as the offspring of Providence, just as much as it is the child of the people. We look upon it as the chosen instrument to bear us through the responsibilities of the day, and as an association freighted with the needful energies to secure for the principles of truth over error, of freedom over despotism, of religion over superstition, and of tolerance over intolerance, a triumph that will bathe the entire world in light and glory. Constituted for a noble end, and toiling for sublime results, they are now marching onward to the conflict, with hearts brave and true; their spirits are animated with the conviction that theirs is the cause of right, of man, and of God, and

thus pressing forward in the path to new victories, under the inspiration of the recollections of the glorious past, they are sustained by the hopes of a yet more glorious future. The position assumed in this chapter is vindicated; and such a judgment we await at the popular tribunal.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TRUE POSITION OF THE PARTY.

ALL things possessed of excellence are doomed to meet with resistance in their origin and progress. A sunbeam in its passage to our world must overcome obstructions. Systems, whether philosophical, moral or political, must expect to encounter influences adverse to their success. If destitute of those properties necessary to sustain life and to give an internal force superior to the outward pressure, they perish as soon as they are born. It is not singular, therefore, that an organization which has proved very troublesome to scheming politicians and ruinous to their hopes, should draw upon itself an unusual share of odium. The peculiarities of the new order have given it a wonderful notoriety, and secured for it a more than ordinary degree of defamation. It is really amusing to look over some of these effusions of those party journals that have so long directed the masses without let or hindrance; but which are now all at once brought against the wall. Having for years found the people whom

they commanded, ready to execute their wishes and to cast their suffrages as they were instructed; they were not prepared for this sudden revulsion in the political current. We are not disposed to blame them for showing a degree of feeling under circumstances so provoking. Reason cannot always be in the ascendant—passion will sometimes reign. We would not even more than smile when we see a man beating the rock that has crushed his toe, or getting angry with the wind that comes freighted with dust to the discomfort of his eyes. Such things will happen, and should not be mentioned to the disparagement of the individual's fortitude, but viewed simply as incidental evidences of the weakness of human nature. It is no slight annoyance to the mariner when his full-rigged vessel droops its wings on a waveless sea; or when driven back by opposing winds and tides; and it is no small chagrin to these political schemers when in sight of the anxiously longed-for port, they are carried on reefs and shoals by an adverse current. Blame them because they swear, and stamp, and foam?—Never! It is human nature to be thus fretted and chafed in spirit when great hopes are blighted. But there is hope that their temper will improve—and that these men now so alarmingly agitated as they pass along in the "via dolorosa," may regain their equanimity. It is said that some distance up a cer-

tain river, the saline properties of the atmosphere are admirably suited to reduce the circulation in fevered systems, and that many whose symptoms were similar to those which manifest themselves in these gentlemen, were entirely restored in those regions. It might be worth while for some of our friends to try the effects of an excursion to that cool retreat, more especially as the people seem to think that they can dispense with their services for the present. But as this is more particularly a business which concerns their own comfort, we will pass on to the subject of this chapter.

The position, like the character and objects of the American party, has been grossly misrepresented. They have not complained of this, for they know that those who are hostile to their exertions have been accustomed in their political warfare, to traduce and defame each other: neither does the new order beg for a cessation of hostilities, nor insist upon their enemies using the same weapons which they employ, but this vituperation and abuse impose the necessity upon some one—to define the true position of the party. This privilege will, I trust, be the more cheerfully conceded, since it has of late years become quite fashionable for parties and public men to define their position; they have thus given us the force of their example as

a justification, to place the much abused order "rectus in curia," before the public.

The American Party is denounced as fostering hostility to foreigners. This assertion is often presented under such colorings and with such statements of facts as, when examined, are not facts, that an air of plausibility is thrown over the portraiture drawn by the disordered fancy of its opposers. But where is the evidence that the new party is enkindling and fostering hostile feelings against foreigners? O, it is palpable, because they will not allow them to hold office—you proscribe them for their religion, because you would exclude Catholics from official trusts. With such premises, we are not surprised at their conclusions, for the former are as barren of intelligence, as the latter are destitute of logic. Could you conceive of a more indefensible and absurd assumption, than that I am hostile to a citizen and prejudice others against him, because I do not conceive him qualified to legislate or rule, and therefore would not consent to his elevation to an official position? There could not be a more stupid assertion. Upon the same ground, it must then be maintained, that whoever is not possessed of the needful qualifications to make or administer law, and therefore not placed in a responsible office, becomes an object of distrust and hate on the part of those who withhold from him their suffrages. So that, if

you regard an Irishman or German a useful citizen, because he has strength to dig canals and construct railroads; or because this one is a mechanic, and that one a farmer or merchant, and contributes to the general good, by pursuing that vocation for which he is fitted; but if you do not nominate and elect him to some office, you are fostering hostile feelings against him—and all other classes under like circumstances?

Palpably absurd as such a mode of argumentation must appear to a man of good sense, it is all that can be alleged in support of the assertion that the American party engenders and nurses malevolent feelings against foreigners. The members of this association are fully satisfied that however useful many foreigners are in the various departments of human industry, they are totally unfit to occupy official stations. Some of the reasons of their disqualification to rule, have already been assigned under the discussion of the principle that Americans should rule America. Here it is only necessary to recur to these observations. But if we keep in view the education of these men, the peculiar influences which were active in maturing their character, and the unavoidable predilections which the form of government under which they grew up produced in their minds, and the evidences found in each and every one of them that their distinctive nationalities are interwoven

with the very texture of their being—we will assure ourselves of the wisdom of the policy, which aims to exercise that precaution in the choice of rulers necessary to avert the evils of a mal-administration of the government. So far from being actuated by feelings of hostility towards foreigners, it can be demonstrated to the satisfaction of all whose minds are open to conviction, that whatever of apparent illiberality there may seem to be in this creed, it is after all the soundest and most liberal policy towards them. It is because we love them and the interests of our country, that we would give them no higher political position than citizenship, and that only after they are duly prepared. As such, they can be happy and useful, unless they are victims of unholy ambition; and if those fires are burning within them, they offer the most irrefragable proof of their own unfitness for an office of trust.

Those in our midst of foreign nativity, must agree with us as to the wisdom of this position, when they calmly look at the peculiar circumstances of our nation. The immense influx of foreigners has something alarming in its aspect. We grant that many come with the best intentions, but could the nation confide in their loyalty, should an emergency arise to endanger our liberties? However high our estimate of the immigrant population may be in general, it is notorious that a large number are of very

questionable reputation, and others are tarnished with the deepest crimes. How are they to be distinguished? Or will those who had become obnoxious to the laws of their native land, be wise and just administrators of law here? To whatever extent the sympathies of others for aliens might carry them in the way of granting favors, we cannot hazard such a perilous experiment.

To exalt them to office would only tend to strengthen that inbred disposition to keep up their distinct nationalities, and thus retard the fusion of those antagonistic elements which agitate the social body, into one truly American character. Let them be contented with the tens and hundreds of thousands of native born who fill the various occupations of life, and who never aspire to official stations. Let our foreigners first learn to obey, before they would rule. Let them teach their children that obedience and love due to the government that protects their persons and property. What then is the hostility fostered against aliens by the new order? It has no existence save in the heated brains of those who court that influence for vile political purposes. It is a cry raised by those who have long since been accustomed to barter for the foreign element.

You may call that parental solicitude which a father displays by restraining a refractory

child, *hostility* to the offspring; but those who understand the relations which the parties sustain to each other, will regard it an act of the highest consideration for the youth's welfare; our government sustains a parental relation towards its legitimate and adopted children, and may with the greatest propriety, and without infringing any right circumscribe the privileges of the latter, if the interests of all are thereby promoted.

Another objection offered against the American party, is its alleged tendency to stir up persecution against the Catholics. It would appear somewhat singular that such a charge should gain currency even among Catholics, who have had so many evidences of the sleepless jealousy with which the American people guard religious freedom, did we not know something of the cunning and treachery which are put in requisition whenever their fortunes are waning. The cry of persecution has so often been raised to create sympathy for suspicious parties, that it may have been deemed very useful, at this time, for them. That they really apprehend such an evil, is as idle as the wind. When and where have they been persecuted? On what occasion has the American party proclaimed such a determination? Who does not know that, during the excitements which attended the street-preaching in New York and elsewhere, these

men protected the freedom of speech? Though not sympathizing with these misguided fanatics, they defended them in what they conceived to be the privilege of American citizens. Dr. Duff, in his account of those scenes, says: "There were persons in the crowd disposed to molest these preachers; but in that crowd were also mixed up 'Know-Nothings.' Well, the Protestant man went on expounding Popery, while the Papists, as usual, began to hoot. Suddenly every Papist got a firm thwack on the side of the head, with the most thorough American gravity, coupled with such words as these: 'Sir, this is a free country; every man is entitled to speak; and, sir, when the man is done, if you want to answer him, we will see to it that you get justice.'" This is their uniform course; and they would just as certainly protect a Catholic in his right of speech as they would a Protestant. Knowing these facts, it is somewhat singular that their opponents will continue to circulate this slander. But it indicates to what extremities they are driven; for it is invariably a sign of the weakness of a cause, when true issues are avoided, and men attempt to manufacture sympathy by the cry of persecution. Let them bring forth their strong reasons—let them show up the odious character of this new order, if it is such an abhorrent thing. Let them grapple with the dogmas of the new

creed, and, by clear, cogent reasoning, establish that viciousness of these doctrines, of which they complain so much, and if it be successfully proved that these principles contravene the genius of our institutions, and conflict with the rights of the humblest, this organization will of itself fall to pieces; for nothing unworthy will be sustained by the people. But here lies the great difficulty; they cannot substantiate their charges. They dare not meet the American party in open field, nor fight it with honorable weapons; it is the guerilla warfare which is waged against the new order.

While it is proper here to avow the utter abhorrence with which all true Americans look upon the persecution of any sect or religious denomination, they are determined to guard against such a contingency in any case. They will not persecute Catholics, but they will take care that the Catholics do not persecute Protestants. That the Romish church would become intolerant, if she had the power to dictate our civil and religious laws, there can be but one opinion. If true to her instincts, and consistent with her doctrines, she *must* persecute and destroy, where she can command the necessary power. There may be no immediate possibility to have everything in her own way; but that she aims at supremacy is an undoubted fact. Men may ridicule the thought of danger, and

ascribe such generosity and liberality to the Papists as to believe that, even if they had the power, they would not oppress those who reject her authority—but then the records of the past are fiction. Such a supposition is at variance with the entire history of that Church, and would subvert her entire structure; for it is held as one of the boasted prerogatives of Catholicity, that Rome is unchangeable—in spirit, in doctrine, and in practice! That, as she claims infallibility, so is she also unchangeable in her teachings and usages. Like the laws of the Medes and Persians, according to her own showing, she changes not.

Taking, then, the nature of this system, as set forth by her theologians, there *must* be uniformity of action, where the circumstances or the power of the Church will warrant such action: This granted, it is one of the easiest things in the world to determine with mathematical accuracy how they would act here, as we have authentic knowledge of their course towards those, in former times, who resisted their claims, and as we see the Papacy is now manifested, where it controls the civil as well as the religious government of a country. They change not; but history tells us that they have made it a capital offence for their subjects to read the Bible. They change not, in doctrine or spirit; but they established an Inquisition for

heretics, and, if her infallibility is worth anything, it will teach that there is a necessity for similar institutions, where public sentiment will allow it. Thousands of innocent, but helpless, beings were immolated on the horrid altar of the Inquisition. John Anthony Llorente, a Spanish ecclesiastic, and general secretary of the Inquisition of that kingdom, says, "that during the period from 1481 to 1808, the number of victims that fell into the hands of the Inquisition amounted to 341,021. Of these, 31,912 were burnt, 17,659 burnt in effigy, and 291,456 were subjected to severe penance." The Spaniards established one in America, and the Portuguese one in India; and wherever they had the power these horrid institutions were created. As the doctrines and usages of Rome are immutable, they would, as certainly as they would obtain the power, create an Inquisition on American soil, and fatten this land with American blood! Rome changes not; but she butchered 30,000 Huguenots on the Feast of St. Bartholomew, and "the Pope ordered a jubilee and a procession to the church of St. Louis; cannon were discharged in honor of the event, and a Te Deum chanted." The Papists change not; no! for the imprisonment and torture of the Madias for reading the Scriptures is still fresh in the minds of the public. They change not; no! for the Pope has still in his

employ the blood-thirsty executioners of his wrath, and loads them with honors, as he did the infamous Bedini, the murderer of the noble Bassi and others, and who came on a grand mission to the United States, and journeyed through our country canopied by the ensign of his tyrannic majesty. They change not; no! for a letter, dated "Lausanne, Switzerland, September 18th, 1854," after remarking on the persecuting character of the Papists, quotes, in proof of its statements, the trial and condemnation of two citizens of Tuscany. "Louis Baldi, a mason, thirty-four years of age, and Michel Manguoli, a barber, aged thirty-one years, both of them living at Sesto, a town situated two leagues from Florence, have been recently arrested, under pretext that they had committed an impious act, in the way of proselytism. The procurator's address is worthy of mention. The two delinquents are accused, 1st. Of having invited their neighbors to unite with them *in reading the Bible, and even of explaining it, erecting an impious altar* in their houses (*catedra d'empieta*); 2d. Of having attacked the religion of the state, in denying the usefulness of the mass, the confession, prayer for the dead, absolution given by the priest, and even faith in Jesus Christ; 3d. With having *read anti-Catholic books*, and seeking opportunities for propagating their detestable doctrines, etc.

"The accused indignantly rejected the charge of having denied their faith in Jesus Christ. As to the other facts, they sincerely acknowledged that they believed neither in the mass, nor in the necessity of extreme unction, nor in the worship of the Virgin, &c. They have been condemned to ten months' imprisonment and to pay the expenses of the trial. The places which the Madias have vacated in the dungeons of Tuscany are therefore now filled by the faithful Baldi and Manguoli."

Rome changes not. No! if her doctors and the Pope have rightly understood her character, and have given a true exhibit of the prerogatives she claims; if her own organs, such as the Shepherd of the Valley, the Freeman's Journal, Brownson's Review, and others, are any authority in the case, then Popery would act here precisely as it has in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Germany and England, in days whose history is written in blood. That terrible power, if once exalted to the headship of this country, would kindle the fires of the "HOLY auto da fé," on the high places of our republic, and deluge our blooming plains with American blood! Taking, therefore, a dispassionate view of the subject, we must admit that the American party acts wisely, and deserves the commendation of all good men for guarding the high places of our republic against the intrigue of this insidious enemy of

spiritual and religious freedom. And that I have studiously refrained from all exaggeration in what I have presented concerning the Papal power, I might abundantly prove from writers of their own communion, and from those raised under their influence and thoroughly acquainted with their system.

Pascal, one of those men who was devout and holy in spite of the errors in which he grew up, has given a full exposure of Jesuitism in his Provincial Letters, and any one curious to know the deep and dark abominations taught and practised by that influential and ubiquitous order in the Romish Church, will be well repaid by the perusal of that work. This author, who has triumphantly substantiated every proposition condemnatory of the Jesuits with ample quotations from their own authors, says in one of his letters: "They" (the Jesuits) "have got maxims, therefore, for all sorts of persons; for beneficiaries, for priests, for monks; for gentlemen, for servants; for rich men, for commercial men; for people in embarrassed or indigent circumstances; for devout women, and women not devout; for married people, and irregular people. In short, nothing has escaped their foresight." And these maxims constitute a grand license for all grades of crime—"from a servant robbing his master, if he believes that his wages are not sufficient, a man or woman practising adultery

if their passions so dictate, to the assassination of a king, if the good of the Church is thereby promoted."

In the introduction of the Provincial Letters, the plan of operation of the Jesuits is thus stated—"The policy of the Society, as hitherto exhibited in the countries where they have settled, describes a regular cycle of changes. Commencing with *loud* professions of charity, of liberal views in politics, and of an accommodating code of morals, they succeed in gaining popularity among the non-religious, the dissipated, and the restless portion of society. Availing themselves of this, and carefully concealing in a Protestant country, the more obnoxious parts of their creed, their next step is to plant some of the most plausible of their apostles in the principal localities, who are instructed to establish schools and seminaries on the most charitable footing, so as to ingratiate themselves with the poor, while they secure the contributions of the rich; to attack the credit of the most active and influential among the evangelical ministry; to revive old slanders against the reformers; to disseminate tracts of the most alluring description; and when assailed in turn, to deny everything, and to grant nothing. Rising by these means to power and influence, they gradually monopolize the seats of learning, and the halls of theology;—they glide with

noiseless steps into closets, cabinets, and palaces—they become the dictators of the public press, the persecutors of the good, and the oppressors of all public and private liberty.

“At length, their treacherous designs being discovered, they rouse against themselves the storm of natural passions, which descending on them first as the authors of the mischief, sweeps away along with them, in its headlong career, everything that bears the aspect of that active and earnest religion under the guise of which they had succeeded in duping mankind.”

Had the author from whom we have quoted the above, written a history of the operations and progress of Jesuitism in this land, he could not have drawn a more life-like picture of their movements, than he has done in the language which he employs. But it could not be otherwise according to their dogmas, for they are the servants of one master, and execute with scrupulous exactness their instructions, and having but one object for which they toil with sleepless vigilance, whether in the frozen north or the burning south, their mode of action in all countries is uniform so far as circumstances will admit. Their great object is to gain a supreme influence over the public mind, and as true philosophers, they commence with the lower classes and work upwards. That which gives them an immense advantage over those who oppose them, and which would make

it impossible for men of strict integrity to succeed is that favored and omnipotent maxim, "that the end justifies the means." Before this maxim every thing that stands in the way of their progress must fall. However sacred the object that obstructs their way, it loses its inviolability in the presence of this maxim. For what are human and divine laws, what your life or property, your reputation or your family, when these come between the "*Holy order of Loyola*," and the high places of power? They, under the force of this maxim, might hew their way to a throne, and pave their path with crushed and bleeding hearts—they may confiscate estates, imprison or kill their owners, blast the hopes of men and blight the happiness of families, build up or subvert kingdoms, so that they may acquire supreme power in the State—"for," say they, "the end justifies the means employed to secure it."

And is this maxim current among our American Jesuits? Does Rome change? Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? They just as certainly act upon this principle here, as they do elsewhere. Their efforts to educate the rising generation, to obtain commanding positions, and to work always nearer to the heart of the nation and the centre of power, are as ceaseless as they are stealthy. According to their maxims, it is even

allowed for them ostensibly to renounce Popery, and to enter a Protestant church, if by such a course they can make more converts to Romanism. There are, no doubt, many Jesuits among us, but so disguised as to escape the knowledge of those among whom they labor. Their great principle, however, directs them to obtain, at all hazards, the control of the educational systems of the land. When Loyola, the founder of this order, debated with his associates the rules which should govern them, they differed in opinion as to the prominent and ruling element of their constitution—some proposed that they should preach, others that they should write. When contending whether teaching or preaching would best promote the interest of the society, one of their number uttered the memorable sentiment, "Let me teach the children, and I care not who preaches to the people." This became the governing principle of the order, and their unparalleled success in every country of the globe shows its profound wisdom. In our land, they open colleges for boys and seminaries for girls; and many Protestants send their children to these, for two reasons: first, because they give a high reputation to their own schools; and next, because they may educate somewhat cheaper than others. And having taught the children of Protestants, they are, in many instances, also permitted to preach to

them when they are grown; for such are the seductive charms of their pompous forms of worship, such the gorgeous imagery which appeals to the sensibilities of the youthful imagination, and such the *show* of sanctity on the part of the ruling spirits in those establishments, that few young minds come away from those seats of learning without being thoroughly Catholic in sentiment. Those pupils are with them, say from three to four years, and from twelve to sixteen, an age, of all other periods in life, the most impressible by outward drapery; for it is the season of golden dreams, of the building of aerial castles, when the imaginative and sensitive faculties of our nature are in the ascendancy, and often darken reason and pervert the judgment.

But, to return to the point from which we started, the danger to be apprehended from Jesuitical influence in our republic might be further substantiated, by quoting the opinions of the ablest writers and profoundest philosophers. But the limits of this work will not permit us to argue this subject at length; neither do we consider it necessary to present more proof of this position, in this treatise, than to show the reasonableness of the action of that respectable portion of our citizens who oppose the election of Catholics to offices of trust. But, before dismissing the subject, I must be

permitted to present a few extracts from a writer, whose nativity, education, and position enabled him to make accurate observations, and to speak intelligently on the subject: "Popery," says Helvetius, "is the worst religion in the world." "Nothing could be farther apart than the morality of the Jesuits and the religion of Jesus." As proof that he did them no injustice, he refers to their most eminent writers on morals. And, as a case in point, we may here give an extract from the commentaries of St. Thomas. In treating on government or politics, he says: "For the preservation of tyranny, men of great power and riches must be destroyed; for such, by their power, may rise against the tyrant. It is also expedient to destroy men of talents; for such, by their talents, may find means to expel tyranny. Nor should schools be permitted, or other assemblies, by which learning may be acquired; for learned men have great dispositions and are magnanimous, and such easily rebel. For the support of tyranny, it is proper that the tyrant contrive to make his subjects accuse each other of crimes, and molest each other, so that friends may attack friends, the mean people the rich, and the rich one another; for by their divisions they will be the less able to rise against him. It is also necessary to impoverish the people; for they will thereby be less able to rise against the

tyrant. Taxes should be established; that is, exactions, which should be great and in great number; for thereby the subjects will be the sooner impoverished. The tyrant should excite wars among his subjects or strangers, so that the people may have no opportunity of conspiring against him. It is expedient that a tyrant, for the support of tyranny, do not appear severe or cruel to his subjects; for, by appearing cruel, he will render himself odious; but he should render himself respectable, by an excellence in some eminent virtue. *If he have no virtues, let him so deceive his subjects that they may think he has, that they may respect him."*

Such are the teachings of St. Thomas in his treatise on politics; and we agree with an eminent writer in opinion, that "these are very strange sentiments in the mouth of a saint." And yet far more atrocious doctrines we might cite from the Jesuit fathers, such as Escobar, M. le Moine, Vanquez, Bauny, and a multitude of others. And, whatever may be affirmed as to the independence of Catholics in this country, and their freedom from the influence of such casuists as those mentioned, it is enough for us to know, that the father-confessors of this country are nearly all Jesuits, and that Rome does not change! Den's Theology, which abounds in monstrous doctrines, such as justifying the killing of heretics, and various other great

crimes, is used as a text-book in some of the most noted theological schools belonging to that Church. The Church of Rome is the most oppressive and tyrannical despotism on the face of the globe. It humbles its subjects to the meanest vassals, allows them neither individuality, nor a single element, either intellectual, moral, or physical, over which its iron rule does not extend. It is emphatically, as M. Guizot says, in his "*Cours d'Histoire Moderne*," concerning the demands of Rome: "Whatever we possess most intimate, most individual and free—conscience, thought, and interior life—is concerned; to abdicate the government of one's self, to deliver one's self up to a foreign power, is a true moral suicide, a servitude a hundred times worse than that of the body or the soul."

From these considerations it is sufficiently manifest that the American party has undertaken no bootless enterprise, nor is it fighting a man of straw. They would guard the land from the influence of such morality, and they would, above all, defend the altars of liberty from the touch and rule of those whose confessors would readily absolve them for exciting civil discord, for burning heretics, for oppression, or any other flagrant crime, the commission of which might be thought necessary to the establishment and aggrandizement of the papacy in this land. Do you still ask where is the use of an American

party? Do you still denounce them for assuming a defensive attitude? Is there not a call for resisting the encroachments of the Papal power and guarding our holy things against foreign influence?

Behold the exertions made for the advancement of Popery! Look at the vast number of their establishments—the various positions in the social and political circles to which they have gained access! What mean these national councils! Is there not something arrogant in the name—does not the manner in which they are convoked scent of former domination! And why these provincial councils? What means that grand gathering of ecclesiastics from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, at Rome! O, it is, say they, to determine the question of the immaculate conception. Yes, the ostensible occasion is this childish question—but matter far weightier to the interests of Rome, are the subjects of their earnest discussions, and among these, American politics. While these prelates are scheming and plotting, it is our duty to watch!

I repeat, therefore, that the true position of the American party has been grossly misrepresented. They will not persecute Catholics, but they will see to it that Rome does not persecute us. With no disposition to injure any, but with

a desire to accord to all such immunities as they shall have capacity to enjoy, this party will pursue the even tenor of its way, until the network of Jesuitism is fully exposed, and our institutions forever secured against its fatal power, and our land from the withering blight of the anathemas of Rome!

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RAPID PROGRESS AND WIDE EXTENT OF ITS
INFLUENCE, AN ARGUMENT FOR THE EXCELLENCE
OF THE AMERICAN PARTY.

WE are taught, among the first principles of philosophy, that there must be a correspondence between the cause and its effects. The magnitude of the one controls the extent of the other. It is a principle of universal application in regard to the operation of the laws of nature, and holds good in the moral and political world. There can be no disproportion between a cause and its effects. This is more especially the case in a popular form of government like ours. Here the power to produce political changes resides in the people, and whenever an adequate cause calls this power into play, and concentrates its exertions it will manifest itself in such revolutions in public sentiment as we have recently witnessed in the different States of this Union. We regard the rapid diffusion of the principles of the new order as a conclusive argument of their potency.

They must have those properties which com-

mend them to the good sense of thinking minds, and do address themselves to the noblest instincts of a cultivated intellect. A delusion may gain friends for a day, but they will melt away before the public sentiment, as the mist before the morning sun. Something that is real and substantial will attract men of like character. The law of affinity acts with as much force in the moral, as in the material world. In this movement are found many of the most sterling men that our country boasts. Men who have not been conspicuous in party strife, nor prominent actors in those political scenes, which have at different times agitated the social state. They are, for the most part, our quiet, order-loving, practical citizens, who never rise in the majesty of their strength, unless some powerful motive seizes their minds, and, whenever they do exert themselves, their action is entitled to respect. There is nothing more clear than, that the cause which waked up so many pure men in our wide-spread confederacy to change the political aspect of the nation carried within its bosom a tremendous energy—the results of its exertion are now spread out before us for examination.

And here we may state another rule by which to estimate the nature of a cause, or the character of an organization, *i. e.*, by the effect which it produces. Applying this rule when graduating the inherent excellence of the American

party, we shall have no difficulty in vindicating it from those aspersions which have been cast upon it, nor in refuting the calumnies that have been so freely uttered against it. They have given rise to effects that have amazed and confounded their enemies. They have elected their nominees, and have thus taken the government out of the hands of the old parties, and entrusted it to others. Such changes are not only attended with good, but sometimes become absolutely necessary. Human nature is too weak not to be corrupted in a long uninterrupted enjoyment of power. Whatever party may be favored with a frequent succession of victories and remain for a long period in power, is liable to have its officials corrupted. There are so many ways in which men may make their offices tributary to large gains, that few have a sufficient stock of virtue successfully to resist for a long time, the temptations so repeatedly offered. With all the natural desires for that influence which affluent circumstances never fail to command, stimulated by the force of example and the pressure of external things, they gradually imitate the acts of some corrupt predecessor. The conviction, that long official prosperity to the individual or the party, is not fitted to promote the highest national prosperity, had gained a strong hold upon the public mind, and the frequent delinquencies of those in responsible situations had

fully prepared them for the change, which they are now working through this new order.

The manner, moreover, in which the old parties conducted their business afforded ample opportunity for the most unprincipled men to slip into lucrative offices. Why, the President, in his message to Congress, December, 1854, calls for legislation to secure to the government the books of its public officers, which, it appears, the incumbents claimed as private property, thus affording the best means of preventing the detection of frauds committed. These corruptions are therefore not imaginary, but real and widespread, and so palpable that the people could not be ignorant of them. Perhaps nearly all this perversion of the public funds to private uses, may be traced to the manner in which the elections are conducted, legislation secured, and the appointing power influenced. The whole fraternity of officials, all over the country, is manufactured at Washington. Everything depends upon the success of an individual or measure in a small caucus. Colonel Benton, in a letter to his constituents, speaking of the Nebraska bill, says: "You have all heard of the measure, but you do not know that it is the work of a caucus of eight, who had the bill changed after it had been brought in, and did it to substitute geographical for practical parties, and to govern the next Presidential election."

It is, no doubt, true, and it is by no means an isolated illustration of the manner in which a few men make the President, or carry an important political measure. This has acted to the injury of the country, by giving us incompetent or unworthy rulers. This party machinery was so skilfully arranged and worked by a few ruling spirits, that the election of men was seldom an expression of the choice of the people. This was an evil so generally felt, as to produce a simultaneous rising of the people against this monstrous prostitution of their privileges, and this infamous game, so long and so successfully played. And here is one reason why so many thousands were ripe for the movement that has planted its standard so suddenly in every State. And if the new order has done nothing more than to defeat some of these scheming politicians, it would deserve the gratitude of honorable men. But it has transferred official authority into new hands; and we believe those whom it has invested with power are, as far as we know, competent, honest, and energetic men.

The progress, therefore, of the American party has thus far been highly beneficial; it has not merely effected a change in the powers that be, but its reflex influence upon the old parties will be healthful. They must view this spontaneous rising of the people as a severe rebuke upon

their conduct; and, seeing that it was so effectually and faithfully administered, it is to be hoped that they will profit by the lesson.

Another cause, which has contributed to the rapid diffusion of the principles of the new order, we rank as very efficient—the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise. The fact is unquestionable, that it was unexpected, and therefore shocked the sensibilities of the nation. The people, North and South, had not forgotten how the birth-throes of that compromise had rent the national system with keen anguish, nor the joy which caused the nation to forget the pangs, when it was received as a mediator between the conflicting sectional opinions. The author of that bill which ejected this child from the national family, must indeed have supposed us an easy prey, and overrated our stupidity, when he thought that we could not penetrate his shallow sophistry. We might have respected him for honest intentions, if the bait by which he meant to catch us Southerners had not been so superficially gilded. The reflecting portion on this side of Mason and Dixon's line are not carried away by empty sounds, nor regard that as an advantage to their interests, which can only operate to their hurt. We plead guilty to a sort of pleasure (though not malicious), when that *dead*, but honored, compromise inflicted such a blow upon the little

giant who undertook its demolition, as to stun him effectually. Though so eloquently pronounced dead! dead! dead! I suspect that some of the energy of its distinguished framers lingered within it; for it has really shown signs of resuscitation, and done a vast deal of mischief to those who dealt so unmercifully with it. Ay, it is a thing of power; for it was a household deity of the nation, and no wonder it has paralyzed the hand that irreverently touched it. But its end is not yet; for it will unquestionably blight the hopes and cool the ambition of him who figured so conspicuously at its immolation. The author of that bill, which has so seriously impaired the national faith in compromises, boasted, in his speech delivered in Philadelphia, July 4, 1854, at a meeting got up to kill off the Know-Nothings, that *he* would teach them *to know something!* A very immodest boast; but since then the parties have changed positions, and the self-constituted teacher has become the pupil, and, I trust, has been taught a wholesome lesson by those whom he kindly volunteered *to instruct*.

Alas! for the mutability of human things, and human hopes! A despicable insect may sink the proudest vessel, or prostrate the noblest monarch of the forest; and so a *little too much* ardency, to make assurance doubly sure for the

Presidency, has, I fear, unshipped the game. Though thoroughly *democratic* in sentiment and sympathy, I cannot, with all the recollections of the past, bring a single tear to the political grave of this self-constituted champion of the Democracy. The Democracy is truly a rock, impregnable, as he recently affirmed in the West; but his ship has broken loose from its moorings, and has become the sport of the waves. Though professing no special fondness for black-coats, his assault upon those clergymen who protested against the passage of his favorite bill, struck me as very unstatesman-like. I have no partiality for that class of citizens above others, and I think they may sometimes busy themselves too much with the affairs of Cæsar; still, when a man pronounces a body so highly lauded by Daniel Webster for their intelligence, learning, piety, etc., stupid, ignorant, and fanatical, I am tempted to infer, that one who characterizes his *fellow-citizens*, who oppose a political measure in a legitimate way, by such epithets, may possess these commodities to a larger extent than those upon whom he so liberally bestows them. But, not to enlarge on this point, I would simply remark, that we have a forcible illustration, in the progress and triumph of the American Party, of the fact, that when the voice of the people is disregarded by legislators, they will be heard at the ballot-box. When representa-

tives cease to respect the wishes of those from whom they derive their power, and manifest a determination so far to transcend the business of legislation, as also to dictate to the people the opinions they are to hold, or carry their measures in the face of popular remonstrances, they hazard their places; for an intelligent constituency will claim the privilege of regarding their legislators as *their* servants. And here it may not be amiss to notice the great good which the new party is destined to accomplish. Since the honored compromise has been set aside, the national convention of the "Know-Nothings" has made the integrity of the Union a fundamental principle in its creed; it therefore will bind in harmony this glorious republic, and do what politicians have failed to do, restore confidence and good-will between the different interests of this land.

This party has displayed an energy for which partizans could not account—but it is not difficult to understand why its influence is so widespread, and its strength so irresistible, when we keep in view the source of its origin and sustenance. The people are penetrated with a conviction of the justness of its principles, and of the exalted character of its objects. While I would not fully endorse the sentiment "*Vox populi, vox Dei*," I do not hesitate to declare that as a general principle, it contains much

truth. The reflecting members of communities do neither create, nor sanction a popular movement not justified by the circumstances in which they are placed, or which the good of the country does not demand. We are bound to respect a great popular movement. And more particularly when, as in this instance, its energy comes from that class in society which is not tossed about on the fluctuating waves of passion. Such we regard the individuals who compose the new organization.

After carefully studying the character of those who have been elected to offices of trust, I am satisfied that if the future candidates of the party are as judiciously selected, the country will have reason to be grateful for the change in its rulers. This feature in the new order has exerted a powerful influence in its favor. It has aided in making its advancement visible and glorious!

In contemplating the ubiquity of this new but numerous party, and the immense influence which it has acquired, we are amazed at its achievements. Here human exertion rises to grandeur because linked with the great interests of the nation, and its efforts are as lofty as they are glorious, because glowing with the spirit of a pure patriotism! Its progress has been without a parallel—rapid, sure, triumphant! In this we find the best evidence that it is possessed of those properties of excellence which commend

it to the good sense of men. It cannot be a delusion—it has nothing of fanaticism about it. And possessed of such characteristics as already indicated, and made up of sterling men, it must be as permanent in its influence, as the causes which have given it existence are durable. Should the party ever deem it expedient to dissolve, after its work is accomplished, its principles will live! Live! and remain operative in our government, while the purpose lives in American heart, that the ensign of the Stars and Stripes is the only one that ever dare kiss the breezes which fan the graves of our noble sires. These principles will rise and grow in importance as our population increases, and blending with all the great interests of our nation, they will constitute a permanent part in our history, and interwoven with all that we cherish, the conservative influence of the American party will be as perpetual as the glory of this Republic.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PLAN OF OPERATION ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN PARTY.

It is the privilege of every party to dictate the plan of its operations. Against this none has a right to object, so long as the rules adopted are honorable, and do not conflict with individual or social rights. But their mode of action is perhaps the most objectionable feature in the American party, to those who are pledged to crush it. Not to enter into that acrimonious warfare to which our politicians have been so long accustomed, is in their estimation an unpardonable offence. They have, therefore, resorted to every species of tactics to bring the "Know-Nothings" out upon the public arena, and engage in those conflicts where passion triumphs over reason. A peculiarity of the new order, in contradistinction from the old parties is this, that every man does his own thinking, informs himself of the questions at issue, and the character and qualifications of the different candidates, and then like a sensible man goes to the polls and votes according to the convictions of his judgment. Now this pro-

cedure is so novel compared with the practice formerly in vogue of preparing the tickets, after having done the thinking of their satellites, that we marvel not that those *important* gentlemen to whom this work was specially intrusted, should grumble because of this innovation upon what they conceived to be their legitimate prerogative.

We are sometimes amused when looking at the flounderings of those who work themselves into paroxysms of distress because they cannot rout these invisible agents. Well, it is provoking to be conscious of a present evil, and yet not able to lay hold of it. They find themselves in a like condition with the Irishman tormented by a flea, he put his finger upon it, and it was not there.

Among the many doleful notes which are echoed from the organs that are out of tune, I may here submit a few choice extracts. They are taken from an old Democratic organ, and I will do the gifted editor the justice to say that his organ makes less discordant music than many others. As I always had an aversion to presenting the worst features of a man's creed, or circumstances, I have felt bound in the exercise of charity, to cull from the most elevated and dignified journals which I could find among the party press. These appeals to the people have assuredly one property that should make them effective, they undoubtedly come from the heart.

It is an established opinion among men who have studied the science of language, that at first it consisted mainly of interjections, because these express the sensations of the emotional nature of man. It is, therefore, on no slight grounds that we accord this high attribute to the appeals of this editor. Let us hear him while he calls attention to the letter of the Hon. H. A. Wise, against the Know-Nothings:—

“We repeat then that we appeal to your honesty, and in all sincerity and candor, to read and resist conscientiously if you can, the irresistible conclusions arrived at by Mr. Wise, before that tribunal which sits to decide upon all your mental operations, your own judgment. We make this appeal to you as honest and upright men; as men of common integrity, as men who desire to see the right and to be guided by it, as men who do not possess and practise that which they do not know to be right.”

All very honest and sincere, and we do earnestly hope that all who may have the opportunity will attentively read Mr. Wise's letter, for it will assuredly greatly fortify them in their convictions already formed of the necessity of entrusting for awhile into other hands the affairs of government. But it seemed that as many of the Democrats broke loose from the traces where they had long worked under the lash, they *may have felt* as though they could dispense

with the weekly catechism of politics, and discontinued their papers, and on this point he is also eloquent. He continues:—"We have been advised, we have been warned, and that, too, by those whom we had reason to believe were our friends, to be lenient towards the 'Know-Nothings,' 'for,' say they, 'they will stop your paper.'"

* * * Are we then to be proscribed for daring to do what we conceive to be right? Must we too be proscribed for holding and daring to maintain honest opinions of our own? Will we be proscribed for our non-proscription? If so, then where is the liberty of the American press? Is that too gone? Will you seek to destroy it too, together with the right of expatriation, and the liberty of conscience? God forbid! O liberty! O sound once delightful to every American ear! O glorious principle of religious toleration! O sacred privilege of American citizenship! Once sacred, now trampled upon! But what then! is it come to this? Shall an American citizen be proscribed for his religion? Shall he cease to worship his God according to the dictates of his conscience, or be deprived of his civil rights? O beware how you attempt to destroy the most sacred of human rights!"

There now, is not that from the heart? Is it not the profound of human pathos? It is touching and eloquent, and it only lacks one thing to sway every American heart, as the unchained

hurricane sways and prostrates the forest—it lacks the force of truth.

If my honorable brother is cool, I will reason a bit with him. On the first point we are agreed: we think all the “Know-Nothings” should read Mr. Wise’s letter, for Mr. Wise is a smart man, and should be heard, and as he is the representative of a district of which it is said he once boasted, “that not a single paper was published within its limits,” we would recommend that his constituents be furnished with a few notes and comments on his letter at the expense of the “Know-Nothings.”

As to the next point, our brother labors under a slight misapprehension, when he supposes that every paper discontinued is an expressed or avowed effort to proscribe the American press. It is a kind of proscription very commonly felt by editors. There is a rascal who has not paid his subscription for ten years; his bill is presented, and he is offended and discontinues—and proscribes you, eh? Why, my good sir, it is one “of the most sacred of human rights,” to discontinue a paper, when it does not edify, instruct, or suit the taste of the reader. “I do not know,” but it strikes me that it is not very modest to proclaim a discontinuance an act of proscription; for, if so construed, then it must be implied that, all things considered, your paper is the most reliable exponent of the public senti-

ment, and the best guide to public policy, and the undoubted model after which every man's opinion should be formed. "I don't know," but it occurs to me that this principle, no doubt hastily annunciated, will react with disastrous effect upon its author; for, according to his own showing, he proscribes every merchant, mechanic, farmer and others, whose commodities he does not purchase, because he finds better supplies elsewhere.

Another, no doubt unintentional, error, is his implied charge, that the American party aims to abolish religious toleration, or freedom to worship God according to the dictates of a man's conscience. Why, my dear sir, they are the friends and defenders of this glorious principle of our Constitution; they will have nothing to do with proscription, farther than, by legitimate means, to prevent such an abhorrent consummation. But for these slight errors, he might be taken for one of the party, and the composition would have been almost faultless; and we really regret the waste of so many beautiful interjections. The O is always pretty, whether from the notion of Hogarth, that curved lines are the most beautiful, or from the fact that they fall on the paper like round drops of the heart's sympathies, it is not now necessary to determine. We really lament this waste of piety and patriotism; for both are sacred, and should not be

prostituted to maintain a crooked or unjust proposition, that has sprung from a clouded brain. The conclusion of this able editorial is a quotation from a gifted author, on the horrors of oppression, and so inappropriate to the use which this gentleman has made of it, that it is like Hudibras's blunderbuss, which,

“Whether aimed at duck or plover,
Always knocked its owner over.”

But it is time to dismiss this analysis of editorials finding fault with the order and the mode of its operations; for this specimen is quite sufficient to form a just opinion of the grounds of complaint against the American party. The unpardonable offence is, that these new converts do not come back, like dutiful children, and tell their mammas that they have fallen in love with that youth whom I have introduced to the reader, and who has already so greatly distinguished himself, and in such a quiet way. But they ought to be generous and pardon this slight delinquency, in consideration of their former obedience and service. Let them try their fortunes; they may, after all, have made a good choice, in taking this quiet attend-to-your-own-business kind of companion, and their life may be quite as sunny and conducive to the public good, as it would have been if linked with that *old stern-knock-down and kick-out sort of fellow*.

Seriously, this quiet mode of conducting their business is something which pleases the people amazingly. "They don't know," but they were really "tired of hickory-poles, pokeberry-stocks, coons, and log-cabins," and they think it is time to stop this insult to their intelligence. The ladies, too, (may the angels live forever!) have sober gallants and husbands, as well during an election campaign and after as before, which was not always the case. The people "don't know," but they have a notion it is not necessary to ignite the passions, until the whole land is like a seething and boiling cauldron, and then gather from its steaming bosom their chief magistrate. They "don't know," but they have a notion that they can act rather more wisely when cool, and vote perhaps more intelligently, after they have quietly *considered* what they should do. They "don't know," but they seem to think they should carry those business habits which they have found good and practicable in the various vocations of human industry, into the exercise of their political privileges. The merchant does not select the coffee-house or the exchange as a place where to project his schemes, or to measure his resources to carry them out, but the private study; and when alone with his ledgers, he forms his plans; and when these show themselves in their affluent revenues, it is time enough for the public to

pronounce upon the wisdom of his measures. There has never been any complaint against this course of action on the part of individuals—is the principle vitiated when it is transferred from the individual to the association? Is not a well-organized society just as essentially and philosophically a unit as man in his isolated sphere?

Well, this is the plan upon which the American party *has* acted: they are governed by similar rules and guided by like considerations, which control the action of the successful merchant or citizen. Why should I work myself into a frenzy, and turn this land into a scene of commotion, until the clashing passions of men boil and foam; just as though a business of the highest moment, and which should call into requisition the sublime exercises of reason, could be better accomplished amid painful agitations, and strifes which rend holy friendships, than in the calm and lofty exercise of my intellectual faculties? Ah! but they say, "If we could only see and know them"—if they would only *thunder* before they *strike*. But to see nor cloud nor flash—to hear no distant mutterings, but to be startled and prostrated, by the flash and the bolt at the same instant, and without the privilege of saying *softly*—this is too terrible to bear! But this is entirely as you take it; it need not necessarily be to you the desolating

artillery of heaven—the thing is all in your own excited sensibilities—have a care to these, and the votes of the “Know-Nothings,” while they fall as the quietly-descending dew, may be contemplated with the same feelings of satisfaction as when we look out upon the tearful landscape flashing in the morning sun, as though showers of diamonds had been set upon every trembling leaflet. This is positively a beautiful feature of the party; they do everything so systematically, and withal so noiselessly, that no job of work is neglected, no dinner spoiled—no domestic arrangement disordered—no sour tempers—no broken noses, and no disrupted friendships—but all things move forward with their accustomed regularity, and in beautiful harmony with their feelings. Men are always safe in copying from the operations of nature, for it is a perfect organism; and there seems to be a correspondence between the plans upon which nature and this association operate. The most amazing processes are continually transpiring within the veiled secrecies of this stupendous materialism, and, when properly matured, they are externalized in the various products suited to the manifold wants of all creatures. We may not complain because we cannot go behind the awful shrines of nature; we ought to be contented with the good wrought for us in her vast laboratory; and we have no reason to demand

access to the privacy of an association, and *must* be satisfied with whatever of public good it may be doing for the country. It is useless to attempt to bring them out into angry broils and hot contentions; and it will be an improvement to those journals which are now denouncing them, and vastly to the advantage of their readers, if they lay aside their bitterness, and cultivate a better temper, for that would greatly improve their manners. They may rest assured that the American party will remain true to its principles and its plans of honest and quiet resistance to the encroachments of foreigners upon their rights. They may see proper to lift the veil of secrecy even, and open to the inspection of the public their operations, more fully than the other parties; but, whatever restrictions they may enforce or relinquish, they are true patriots; so that, even those who may be displaced from positions they love, may carry with them into their retiracy the assurance that strong arms, wise heads, and true hearts will guard the *throne of freedom* and minister at the *altars of liberty*.

May they continue to carry out their principles in the same quiet way in which they have commenced, and may they never be allured nor flattered into those party broils, so disgraceful in the past, and which induced a foreign minister to ask of an American traveller, "Why do you

always nominate the worst men for your Presidents, for such your journals unquestionably make them?" but may they persevere, like conscientious and patriotic men, to toil for the good of their country, and send blessings to the habitations and hearts of those who now revile them. Friends of our noble institutions, and the ready helpers and sympathisers of all that are oppressed, they will ultimately show the fruits of their triumphs in a well-regulated foreign policy—having none abroad as Jefferson, and Baily in a recent speech, wished it, but natives, and American interests protected at home—and a peaceful, happy, and free nation.

Having laid it down as a fundamental principle to interfere with none in their civil and religious rights, and to act without ostentation or constraint, they cannot be otherwise than successful. For even now, their power nerves the heart of the nation, and their influence though gentle as the kissing zephyr, is powerful as the gale that agitates the ocean to its profoundest depths; for it animates with lofty purposes and guides to noble ends, thousands of thinking, immortal minds.

CHAPTER X.

THE PROBABLE INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN PARTY
ON THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

AMID the many changes which we constantly witness in this mutable world, it is a dictate of reason not to be over-sanguine in our expectations of success in anything. The members of the human family are constitutionally not more frail than their opinions are fluctuating. To-day some of the unstable are devoted to a system which to-morrow they utterly repudiate. It is upon this feature of instability in the constitution of man, that the old parties rely to retrieve their reverses, and reconstruct their organizations. They feign to believe, whatever their apprehensions may be, that the "Know-Nothings" will, like a wave formed by a sudden squall, soon spend itself, or at farthest be shivered to fragments against the rocks which rise in the way of its progress. It is upon such hopes that they now nourish their failing strength, and fortify their fainting hearts. Are their predictions well founded? Will the new party disappear as suddenly as it sprang into existence and

power? That it will have its ordeals to pass we grant, but that its dissolution is near at hand we do not admit. It is not the glaring meteor that has shot athwart the political firmament to startle and to dazzle for a moment, and then be quenched in a thick gloom. It is not a bubble waked upon the surface of the social bosom, just to vanish into thin air. It has a foundation of living principles upon which to repose, and is constructed of self-evident truths, and will, perhaps, exceed in durability and its power of resistance, the expectations of those who have decreed its destruction. It may prove more of a "Sebastopol" to its enemies than the great Russian fortress does to the allied fleets.

Were it simply the offspring of feeling it might be an easy prey, or a sentiment of such force as to drive men for a season from the old landmarks, it might be displaced or crushed, but it is the offspring of reason and as deathless as thought. Whatever amount of feeling it may evoke, it is a structure of principles nourished and sustained by the intelligence of the people. At one time it was thought it could be frightened, then ridiculed out of existence, but when it withstood these assaults, misrepresentation and gross abuse were considered effective weapons. A certain Philadelphia paper was conspicuous in this dishonorable mode of warfare, and its lugubriousness were huckstered and

hawked over the whole country. Forgetting what was due to others and the proprieties that attach to public journalists, it dealt in the most atrocious misrepresentations. Week after week that paper was teeming with professed reports of transactions in councils of the new order, obtained by disreputable means, naming individuals and ascribing to them sentiments which they would abhor, and representing the society as on the point of dissolution. But instead of inflicting injury, or carrying destruction to the object of its hate, that paper rather increased their numbers by disgusting its own readers.

In my estimate of the probable influence of the American party on the next Presidential election, I shall not be guided by party journals, nor rely upon any thing intangible, but deduce such proofs and reach such conclusions as the aspect of things and the state of political parties may warrant. We might argue the probable triumph of the new order in the next Presidential campaign, from its past successes. There have been few instances in which the issues were distinctly brought before the people, where the principles of the American party did not triumph. But we may base our calculations upon things more permanent, and sustain our convictions that it will control the next election by proofs more tangible and direct. The first reason for this belief I gather from the disorder and feeble-

ness of the old parties. It is with great political parties as it is with armies. When its chief officers have fallen and its ranks are thrown into confusion, it is difficult to rally a severely beaten host and to restore order. And if even they can be marshalled for battle and animated to a second effort, they contend with a feeble heart. There is always a great disadvantage when no inspiration of recent victories sustains the combatants.

Look at the two great parties. The Whigs were sorely defeated in the last Presidential election, and have not since been able to effect a thorough organization of their scattered forces. The Democrats suffered even a worse defeat in the late state elections. Though they enjoyed the advantage of that vast influence which office-holders always bring into the field, yet with all this, coupled with most extraordinary efforts, they suffered a complete rout. The old Democratic State of Pennsylvania polled 30,000 majority for the American candidate. In Baltimore, Md., the stronghold of foreigners, and with the official influence of the party, they were defeated by an overwhelming majority. In Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts, and other States, like defeats were experienced.

But the relations of the parties have now been reversed, and in the next great conflict it will be comparatively easy for the new party to elect all their men. The Democratic party has greatly

diminished even since the last election. Many have forsaken its standard and have come over to the side of victory. Others are becoming convinced of the justice of the cause and the importance of the principles advocated on the American side of the house. If at first they hesitated about uniting with the new party, it was because they wanted time to examine its principles and scrutinize the merits of its creed. But now that they have had time for calm reflection they realize the importance of this movement, and while large numbers may never be initiated into the mysteries of the fraternity, they may still feel it their duty to support those candidates pledged to carry out the principles of the new order.

The extraordinary exertions of those opposed to the new order is the best proof of the growing strength of the American party. Were it as insignificant and as ephemeral as some flatter themselves it is, they would not waste so much exertion to fight the man of straw. They would pity its feebleness and suffer it to die in peace, but conscious as our politicians are that the people have abundant reason to be dissatisfied with their improvident administration of the government, they very naturally dread an organization which has risen up to vindicate the wrongs of American citizens. Already have they had a foretaste of that which is to come, and the

premonitions of the terrible overthrow which awaits them, is anything but soothing to their irritated sensibilities.

But the question recurs here, would such a result as the election of a President on purely American principles be desirable? Are Whigs and Democrats justified in breaking loose from party restraints, to cast their suffrages for the candidate who may be offered by the new organization? Under ordinary circumstances we would reply, no! but in view of the present aspect of things, and the great issues which are to be decided, we cannot hesitate as to the path of duty. We behold the country agitated as it never has been, by a question which carries within its womb results either the most glorious or appalling which the human mind can contemplate. A question which has been violently thrust upon the American mind, by the insolent conduct of foreigners and the defiant tone of Jesuitical Bishops and Archbishops of the Roman Church in this country. Their assumed superiority over all others, their haughty bearing, their arrogance and intolerance, became manifest, not only in the language and writings of their dignitaries, but also in the violence of those poor victims of their delusion who repeatedly attacked native-born citizens without provocation. The question is, whether they shall be permitted to pursue this course of action, and

constitute in our midst a band of Ishmaelites, and not amalgamate or coalesce with the other elements in our republic? Whether we shall fold our arms and look on quietly, while they are rising to power and command influence, until they shall be competent to control our home and foreign policy—to dictate our laws, and to bring about those scenes of oppression, persecution, and blood, which have everywhere marked the progress and dominancy of the Roman power; whether we shall surrender our liberties, our property, our daughters, our consciences, and our lives, to the tender mercies of the Papacy? This is one side of the question which should be carefully pondered. The other is, whether our free institutions shall be perpetuated—men continue to worship God agreeably to their conscientious predilections; whether we shall preserve inviolate the prerogative of American citizens, to read the Bible and interpret it for themselves; whether we shall have free sanctuaries, free schools, and *free hearts*; whether the government shall be administered by the native born or the champions of the Pope; and whether our civil and religious institutions shall remain separate and distinct as now, or whether there shall be a union of Church and State, controlled by the iron despot who reigns on the seven-hilled city? All these considerations, and many others, are involved in the question at

issue, which the adherents of the Papacy and the infidel and social confederacies of our land have forced upon us for decision. Can an American falter a moment, hesitate an instant, when such commanding issues are presented? Most assuredly not! The question is too momentous, the interests involved too tremendous, not to evoke every feeling of nationality, and kindle into burning every spark of pure patriotism. In whatever direction our party predilections may tend, we cannot forget, in seasons when a common danger threatens, that we are Americans!

But there are other and yet weightier reasons to influence the judgment of men in this juncture of affairs. To make our discussion a little more formal and direct, we affirm that it is the duty of Americans to suspend for a season the operation of their sympathies for former creeds, and sustain the nominee of the new party, that the national honor may be vindicated. The *honor* of the nation is a personal matter with every true patriot, and cannot be insulted or wounded without inflicting a like injury upon him. He will, therefore, as promptly redress the wrongs of his country as he would resent a personal injury to his honor. This I regard as perfectly just, for however averse to sanction any sort of violence, and much as it is the duty of all good citizens to exercise forbearance and


love towards all men, there cannot be the shadow of impropriety in giving such an expression at the polls as will effectually vindicate the honor of our nation. Our constitution contemplates a fusion of the various members of this republic into one common brotherhood, animated by one spirit, and laboring for one end. And while it allows the amplest freedom to all religious creeds, the force of its entire spirit is against the blending of the religious and political sentiments of any one denomination with a view to exalt itself to supreme power. It is at war with the genius of our institutions for a denomination to remain isolated from all others in its political action, in its institutions, and works of benevolence and education. It is an insult to the nation to contravene its wishes and intentions by rearing a power within its domain, hostile to the liberty of the State. We need not stop to prove that the Catholic Church is the enemy of freedom in all its aspects. Her history, her doctrines, her spirit, her writers, and her priests, have filled the world with monuments proclaiming the truth of this assertion. If the reader will turn to *Balmes on Civilization*, p. 76, he will find the Catholic idea of liberty, such as Bishop Hughes offered in his reply to General Cass, and where he has borrowed the phrase upon which he plays so dexterously—"a confusion of ideas." But when this confusion

of ideas is cleared up, liberty means a full surrender of body, soul, and all, to the domination of the infallible successor of Peter. Who does not observe the extent of the power which the Roman Pontiff holds over his subjects. At his bidding, they cast their suffrages *en masse* for the men who will do most for the interests of Rome.

While all the efforts of Jesuitism have tended towards the aggrandizement of Rome for years, the nation has sustained injury on the part of those public men who encouraged the pretensions of these emissaries of the Pope by offering incense at his shrine. In their official acts, their speeches and writings, they exhibited a degree of deference to the papal hierarchy totally incompatible with their position as representatives, and have unmistakably indicated their anxiety, nay determination, at any cost, to conciliate the favor of these ecclesiastics, and for the obvious reason that they might secure the influence of these among their spiritual subjects. The subjects of the priest have less freedom of will than the slaves on our plantations, and are, therefore, totally incompetent to exercise intelligently the elective franchise. This subserviency of some public men to Romanism we are forced to regard as the most humiliating feature in our latter history. This has gone so far as to fill many judicious minds with the most alarming

apprehensions, and if suffered to continue unchecked, it may acquire such energy that all attempted remedies will prove fruitless. It has frequently been the sad experience of individuals and nations, that causes the most despicable in their commencement have subsequently coalesced with other influences, and acquired an efficiency for evil totally beyond their control. There is a time in the history of every vicious public sentiment, or monstrous conception, when it may be easily destroyed. This monster, born in the bosom of our republic, should have been strangled in its birth, but though it has grown to be powerful, it may yet be crushed; but if suffered to linger, and to feed upon the vitals of the nation, it will ultimately, like a malignant passion in the human heart, destroy everything exalted and good.

Now the manner in which it is proposed to kill off this evil is as merciful as it is just. If the case were reversed, so that we Protestants were in a Papal country, and they had the power as we have, there is not a Catholic kingdom where the *good* of *Holy Mother* would not require that we should be delivered over to the civil power, and commended to its *mercy*, which means that we should be sent to the stake, the dungeon, or the wheel. Unchanging and unchangeable Popery would soon rid this beautiful land of its heretics if it only had the power. Is



it not so, tender Shepherd of the Valley? What say you, Orestes? Ah! you have already given your views on the duty of burning heretics, without any equivocation. But the American party has no such purposes, no feelings of vengeance to gratify, no spirit of blood to satiate; but it has the *good* of the country at heart, which is the good of all parties and creeds, and feels assured that its success will be attended with high and glorious benefits to the Catholic laity. The American party cherishes the kindest feelings towards all, but it has vowed to vindicate the national honor from the imputations of servility to the Roman power.

A nation, like a virgin, must sacredly guard her honor; and whenever a wily foe would deprive her of it, she must shake her garments with a holy horror, and rebuke the effrontery that would convert her into a courtesan for the Pope. Every American heart swells with indignation at the thought of transforming our institutions into instruments of oppression, and her extended territories into a wide domain of cruelty. These considerations will be pondered by the American people—they will forget all differences in political sentiment, and will strike with one heart a blow to vindicate the honor of our Republic; and these vampires, who have been feeding upon the life of this nation only to destroy her, will be taught a lesson that they

will never forget. Let it be proclaimed at the polls of the next Presidential election, **THAT AMERICANS SHALL RULE AMERICA**—that, while we offer a refuge to the oppressed of all lands, we shall expect them to conform to the letter and the spirit of our laws, and to be content with such blessings as “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

It is vain for demagogues to contend that foreigners have meditated and done no wrong to the country; that they have not reflected upon her honor, nor scouted the instincts and sentiments of the nation; and that it is, therefore, persecution and proscription that the American party aims at. Ignorance or presumption only can prompt men to assert such unfounded charges. Who could read Bishop Hughes on religious toleration without being shocked by the dogmas advanced by that prelate? Impudently charging the venerable and distinguished Cass with “a confusion of ideas,” when he asserted the great American principle of religious freedom. The sentiments of that prelate most violently clash with all the impulses of American hearts, and are in direct conflict with the teachings of the charter of freedom, and, in the hands of the Bishop and those whom he serves, mean a complete abrogation of all the laws on religious toleration out of the Roman Church. Such also was the tone of the Cath-

olic press, that all who are given to observation have had abundant opportunity of witnessing that the Papacy and our institutions are in direct antagonism. They uttered their sentiments rather more freely than might now appear prudent; and these were so hostile to our interests, and so pregnant with awful meaning, as to put many citizens on their guard. The boasted changes they contemplated were patented and sent through the land. Self-preservation is the first law of nature; and it is under the force of this law that the American party acts; and in obedience to the dictate of this statute, written upon every loyal heart that beats through this wide Union, thousands will be ranged under its banner, and carry it triumphantly forward until it waves over the capitol of this free nation.

Another consideration which will commend itself to true patriots is, that the election of President on the issue now made would administer a gentle, but greatly-deserved, rebuke to meddling foreigners. They have carried themselves altogether too loftily, and have essayed to discourse of American habits and institutions, in a manner totally unbecoming in men who profess warm attachment to our form of government. Having scarcely touched upon American soil, they set themselves up for our teachers, and freely discuss all questions pertaining to the

social state, while they understand them as little as would an imported Hottentot. It is positively insufferable to witness such arrogance and presumption. They have abused American generosity, and repaid their hospitality by gross insults or by officious meddlings in our elections. Having always been the victims of oppression, they understand not the just limits of liberty, and run to that other extreme, where they want nothing but the power to become the worst of oppressors. When we recount the officious interference of foreigners in our political affairs—their bearing at the polls—their dictation—their threats if their demands are not complied with by our rulers, we are really amazed at the measure of forbearance exercised towards them. It is high time to intimate to them, in a manner not to be misapprehended, that we will not bare our backs to the lash of a Bishop, or tamely cringe to his bullying and blustering subjects. Let this be done in an honorable way—let Americans give a united expression of their united sentiments, and elect a man for the occupancy of the chair of state, unpledged to bishop and archbishops, and untrammelled by foreign influence. Let his election be decisive and triumphant, that every State of this Union may recur to it with feelings of pride, and that its influence may be appreciated by those who have raised this issue between us.

The result of the next Presidential election will be regarded at home and abroad as the true exponent of the American and foreign elements in our country. Foreigners are, in this issue, posted against Americans; it is not the strife of parties, but of nationalities. Whether it is good policy to bring about such a test, is not now a matter for our consideration. Could it be avoided, it would unquestionably have obviated much unpleasant feeling; but the period when it might have been prevented has passed. The question has been thrust upon Americans without their bidding, and in the face of repeated warning and solemn protestations on the part of leading Protestant journals and statesmen; but our foreign population, especially the Catholics, have been instrumental in making this issue, and with them rests the responsibility. The preliminaries of the great struggle are already arranged—I hear the sound of the marshalling forces—the influence of the American party on the next Presidential election is discussed in the Grand Council in Rome—it forms a topic in the deliberations of the cabinets of Europe—it is debated in our halls of legislation—in our palaces and cottages—it forms the conversation in the counting-house and the shop—it is talked over by our wives, mothers, and children at the fireside—while the prophetic words of our Washington are whispered in

every breeze by our guardian angel—"Beware of entangling alliances with foreigners." These warning words are being understood in their vast significance, and Washington will a second time deliver his country from the vassalage of despotism. Hundreds of thousands are waiting with anxious hearts for the announcement of him who is to bear the standard of the new party, and unnumbered multitudes are watching for the signal to march to the polls and seal their devotion to the principle "that Americans shall rule America." All over the land there is a stirring of earnest spirits—quiet in their deportment, but fixed in their purpose. And among those who sympathize with the American party, I am proud to say there are many of foreign birth, but of far different spirit from those who threaten the peace and stability of our Union.

On the other side, no efforts are spared to circumvent the plans of the new order and defeat their intentions. The ablest minds are toiling day and night to overcome the recent disasters which have befallen the party in league with Rome. All the intellectual force which can be pressed into party service is freely offered, and all this is united with the entire force of the Catholic Church. Can we look out upon these vast preparations without deep emotions? without having our sensibilities stirred to the profoundest

depths? IMPOSSIBLE! Ay, there is a grandeur gathering about these rising multitudes to a great issue! And however fervently we might wish that such an issue had never been raised in this brotherhood of freemen, and however much we deplore the fanatical zeal of foreign Bishops and Archbishops for giving rise to this question, we can have only one desire as to its result. But this is no time for fruitless wishes—the contest is before us and we must meet it. It is not the privilege of men to dodge *this question*, they *must* show the American people where they stand. They will be made to declare without equivocation, whether foreigners shall, or shall not, rule the land of Washington. Whether, in addition to the walled convents (which no Protestant denomination would be allowed to have and to hold,) where the victims of Jesuitical intrigue, and it may be lust, are pining away, while there is *no law* by which an aggrieved Protestant parent can recover his abducted daughter, whether in addition to these strongholds of the Papacy, the Inquisition is one day to be added, and leave us to the tender mercies of those who have crimsoned almost every soil with innocent blood!

In view, therefore, of the present state of feeling, the commanding interests which are at stake, and the high importance associated with the results of the next Presidential election, I

cannot be mistaken in the belief that our citizens, cognizant of these things, will reflect as they never have done, before they cast their suffrages at the ensuing election. And seeing in all sections of the land the presence of a dangerous power—there can be no room to doubt the success of the American nominee for the presidency. May it be a Cass, a Fillmore, a Houston, or Clayton, but may *he* be an *American in feeling, in thought, and in action*. Such a result would be contemplated with unmingled satisfaction by all true patriots, for after the decision of this question, all may resume their places on former platforms, or continue the organization; but whether the American party shall or shall not ostensibly exist after the next Presidential election, its principles will be widespread, permanent, and immortal as our glorious and free commonwealth.

In submitting these considerations it may be proper to state that they are the reflections of one who has no ambitious aspirations. His spirit is not chafed by disappointed hopes, or foiled expectations. He has never sought nor enjoyed official trusts, nor seeks them now. But standing by the shrines of freedom he has uttered his sentiments on a subject which it is the privilege of all to discuss. He loves his country, and would curse the hand and paralyze the arm that would remove a single stone from the vast temple of

freedom. May that noble structure whose foundations are in the hearts of the true and the brave, remain immutable, amid the shocks and convulsions that are now rocking thrones and kingdoms into a heap of ruins! May no enemy at home or from afar, ever gain power to undo the work of our Fathers; and may their sons never want hearts to love, and arms to defend the altars of this nation, whose glory is filling the world, that our institutions may be as perpetual and as glorious as the sun and the stars whose light falls on the graves of our venerated sires!



A
REPLY
TO THE LETTER
OF
HON. HENRY A. WISE,
AGAINST THE
"KNOW-NOTHINGS."



REPLY

TO THE

Letter of Hon. H. A. Wise.

THE LETTER OF HON. HENRY A. WISE, THE DEMOCRATIC GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE OF VIRGINIA, AGAINST THE KNOW-NOTHINGS.

THIS is perhaps the most extraordinary document of an epistolatory form, that has ever been issued from the American Press. I pronounce it extraordinary, whether viewed as a whole or in its separate propositions—but most of all extraordinary, for its labored proof of that which nobody denies; and for its creation of a hideous monster, and then expending the whole intellectual force of an extraordinary man upon its demolition.

The assumption is not less charitable than just to Mr. Wise, that the nondescript with which he battles so terribly, arose from some of the Virginia swamps, for the Old Dominion is not without its “dismal swamps.” That the creation which looms through his letter should have the remotest resemblance to the Know-Nothings, we cannot for a moment believe; neither would we cast such an imputation on the intelligence of

its author, as to think, that he had the faintest idea of drawing a portraiture of the party which he denounces. The *thing* is *sui generis*, and is evidently the offspring of a cloudy brain, or a disturbed spirit.

If the question is therefore asked why a reply is offered to this letter, in connection with the foregoing pages, I would state for the information of the inquirer, that there are a number of urgent reasons why it should be answered.

1. First, the source whence it emanates is respectable. It is not on all occasions that an individual may rise to a self-vindication. The source of those aspersions intended to injure or totally destroy his reputation, may render a reply a work of supererogation. Not only motives of self-respect may forbid an answer, but the censure of the maligning party may be more honorable than its adulations. The same basis of action is usually adopted by honorable associations. It would be an endless and profitless task for the American party, to defend itself from all those insane attacks upon its character with which partizan journals are teeming. Its contempt could not even stoop so low as to repel the many foul slanders, so abundantly manufactured and vended by the evil-disposed. Neither is it necessary, for their origin is their best refutation. But here the case is different—a lengthy document is given to the public, abound-

ing in misconceptions, and misrepresentations; doing great injustice to an association of honorable men—doing violence (it may be unintentional) to truth, and all canopied by the powerful influence of a great name. Mr. Wise is the Democratic oracle in the Old Dominion, and thousands inquire at his shrine with child-like simplicity, and receive his utterances with absolute confidence. All those who are moulded by his influence will regard this document against the Know-Nothings as an impartial exposition of their creed, and endorse it from beginning to end. It is therefore eminently proper, to subject it to our scrutiny and make its darkness light, and its crooked places straight.

2. The second consideration which invites a reply is, the fact that it constitutes the sum total of all that has been uttered against this unoffending class of men by the opposition press, by stump orators in Congress and out of Congress, and all over the land. It is, in the dialect of Gotham, "an Omnium gatherum" of all they can produce, or, as the lawyers sometimes say, the arguments urged against the new party, are here brought within the compass of a nut-shell, and if it could be shaken, it would still rattle. It is doubtless quite agreeable to the party assailed to have all the ammunition loaded into one and the same gun, for if it can withstand this Paixhan, the ship is safe, "for there is no

more of the same sort." I trust suitable acknowledgments will be made to the honorable gentleman, for the wide scope which he has given to his letter, so that all that is now requisite is to expose his fallacies, the unsoundness of his arguments, and the harmlessness of his declamation, and the work of effectual vindication is at once accomplished.

3. The third reason for answering this formidable epistle is, that it has been extensively circulated, and as it abounds in misconceptions and erroneous statements, no doubt based on wrong information, doing great injustice to a large and respectable portion of his "fellow citizens," it is the duty of some one to correct these, for I agree perfectly with Mr. Wise, "that truth should be left free to combat error."

4. A final consideration which demands a response, is found in the fact that, Mr. Wise is now the nominee for the high office of governor in his state, and as he is too honorable a man to desire or accept a political victory obtained upon erroneous issues, or by misrepresenting those who oppose him, I may do him a service by removing any false impressions which may have been made upon the minds of the people. In view of these several considerations I have concluded to subject this elaborate document to a brief, but impartial examination.

The Honorable gentleman has, in this epistle,

given ample scope on the one hand to his fancy, and to his declamatory powers on the other. If it is a reliable index of his intellectual constitution, it is very obvious that the peculiarities indicated greatly predominate over the reasoning faculties. To such an extent is this manifest, that it is with considerable difficulty, under the warfare of words, to see the precise bearing of his argument—it is like searching for isolated grains of gold in a mass of worthless sand. That there may be no room to complain of injustice, and no appearance even of partiality, I will fully state the propositions upon which he relies for success in his *great* effort to demolish the “Know-Nothings.”

1. “There is no necessity, from either oppression or weakness of Protestants or Natives, for such an organization.”

2. “There is not only no necessity for this secret political organization, but it is against the spirit of our laws and the facts of our history.”

3. “Know-Nothingism is against the spirit of the Reformation and Protestantism.”

4. “It is not only opposed to the Reformation and Protestantism, but to the faith, hope, and charity of the Gospel.”

5. “It is against the peace and purity of the Protestant churches, and in aid of priestcraft, within their folds to secretly organize orders for religious combined with political ends.”

6. "It is against free civil government, by instituting a secret oligarchy, beyond the reach of popular scrutiny, and supported by blind instruments of tyranny, bound by test-oaths."

7. "It is opposed to our progress as a nation."

8. "What are the evils complained of to make a pretext for these innovations?"

Here, then, are the propositions, the foundation upon which this imposing paper edifice is reared. The reader perceives that he has given himself great amplitude of range, and doubtless with a view of comprehending within its compass everything that could be urged against the new order. From the extent of the field over which he ranges, it becomes a matter of necessity to limit this reply to the most prominent and plausible positions of this document, and in as condensed a form as possible.

To establish his first proposition, he relies upon the statistics of our native and foreign population, and from these infers that there is no existing necessity for an American party. He estimates the foreigners in our country, at this time, at 2,210,839. But this is at variance with the census of 1850, considerably less than that document makes it four years ago, and making no allowance for the corresponding ratio of increase since then. In answering this part of the notable letter, I offer for the consideration of the reader the statements of a

distinguished gentleman, who enjoyed peculiar facilities for making an accurate report on the subject. He says:

“I will show you by figures the progress of immigration since 1790; it is as follows:

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----------|
| From 1790 to 1810 (20 years) | 120,000 |
| From 1810 to 1820 (10 years) | 114,000 |
| From 1820 to 1830 “ | 103,979 |
| From 1830 to 1840 “ | 762,369 |
| From 1840 to 1850 “ | 1,521,850 |

Total for the entire 60 years..... 2,722,198

“The following table, obtained from the State Department, conforms nearly enough to the exact truth for the purpose of this illustration:

| | |
|--|---------|
| From June 1, 1850, to Dec. 31, 1851, the number of foreign immigrants arriving was | 558,000 |
| In the year 1852..... | 375,000 |
| In the year 1853..... | 368,000 |
| In the year 1854, the returns for the first six months warrant the estimate for the entire year..... | 500,000 |

The aggregate for the first four and a half
years of this decennial term is 1,801,000

“There is no reason for believing that the vast immigration for this year will diminish; in fact there is no limit to its rate of progress, but the means of conveyance. Now, then, we have, upon this basis, an aggregate for the six years and a half intervening between this period and

1860 of 3,250,000; making for the current ten years the astounding aggregate of 5,051,000.

"The correctness of this calculation is self-apparent. It shows, that during the first year of this decimal period there will be thrown upon the shores of the United States a swarm, from heterogeneous sources, of—2,700,000 human beings; *almost exactly equal to the entire immigration of the last sixty years.* Estimating the rate of immigration upon the basis of the returns for the twenty years succeeding the adoption of the Constitution, we find that, for the forty-five years preceding the declaration of independence, the number of immigrants that arrived in the colonies was not far from 270,000; *little more than half as many as now land in our sea-ports in six months!* We were, therefore, at that time a homogeneous people. All of our three millions, except two or three hundred thousand, who were nearly all Tories, were born upon the soil, were Americans, native to the manor, with souls to dare and hands to execute the mighty plans necessary to a nation's redemption."

A gifted and cool editor of a prominent public journal remarks upon the above: "Here is the whole case presented; the argument is begun and ended. The admission of foreigners to unlimited political privileges is not consistent with the interests of society, with good government, or the public peace. And the facts sufficiently

prove why that policy in respect to foreigners, which was perhaps not unadvisable up to a recent period, has become intolerable, and demands a complete reformation. We do not mean to admit that the necessity for such a change of policy (for his journal is not of the party) has now for the first time arisen; but the evils for which a remedy is demanded have been rendered too flagrant for endurance by the events of the last fourteen years, and particularly by those of the last eight."

As the whole argument on the first proposition discussed by Mr. Wise is founded upon the relative numerical strength of the native and foreign element in our political system, and as we have seen his premises swept away by the above statements, "leaving not a wreck behind," all his words and logic are wasted. His argument would have answered well enough sixty years ago, but for 1854 it is sadly deficient; for it can be readily seen by the ratio of increase during the past existence of our nation, that, upon the same basis of calculation foreigners, at no distant day, might outnumber the native born. But it is not even the numerical strength of aliens that is most to be deprecated, but rather the kind of material which composes that body. A skilful Jesuit is more to be dreaded than five thousand ordinary citizens, so far as the power to do evil is con-

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cerned. We have seen that his creed allows him a range of latitude, in moral and political action, which is utterly abhorred by men of integrity. With him "the end justifies the means;" and, with this license, he is always and everywhere a dangerous citizen; for there is not an enormity in the whole catalogue of intrigue and crime which he may not commit with impunity.

The honorable gentleman next proceeds under this head to compare the Catholics with the Protestants of this country, and infers from the contrast that there can be no danger from this source. Here we perfectly agree, provided Catholics adopt the same policy as Protestants. Did their ecclesiastics encourage a blending and co-operation on the part of their subjects with other citizens, the contest now going on would never have originated; but while they act in a body, and all their exertions in the Church and in the State have for their object the destruction of Protestantism, there can be no good reason alleged why Protestants should not assume a defensive attitude.* But it is not *only* this com-

* The following is the oath taken by the Jesuits on joining the order:—

I, A. B., now in the presence of Almighty God, the blessed Virgin Mary, the blessed Michael the Archangel, the blessed St. John the Baptist, the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the Saints and sacred host of heaven, and to you my ghostly father, do declare from

bination among themselves, but the fact that they lend themselves for a consideration to one

my heart, without mental reservation, that his Holiness, Pope —, is Christ's Vicar-General, and is the true and only Head of the Catholic or universal church throughout the earth: and that by the virtue of the keys of binding and loosing, given to his Holiness by my Saviour Jesus Christ, he hath power to depose heretical kings, princes, states, commonwealths, and governments, all being illegal without his sacred confirmation, and that they may safely be destroyed: therefore, to the utmost of my power, I shall and will defend this doctrine, and his Holiness' rights and customs, against all usurpers of the heretical (or Protestant) authority whatsoever; especially against the now pretended authority and Church of England, and all adherents, in regard that they and she be usurpal and heretical, opposing the sacred mother Church of Rome. I do renounce and disown any allegiance as due to any heretical king, prince, or State, named Protestants, or obedience to any of their inferior magistrates or officers. I do further declare that the doctrine of the Church of England, the Calvinists, Huguenots, and of others of the name Protestants, to be damnable, and they themselves are damned, and to be damned, that will not forsake the same. I do further declare that I will help, assist, and advise all or any of his Holiness' agents in any place wherever I shall be, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, or in any other territory or kingdom I shall come to, and do my utmost to extirpate the heretical Protestants' doctrines and to destroy all their pretended powers, regal or otherwise.

or the other of the great parties, to be used as instruments to carry an election, that justly inspires apprehension concerning their growing influence. They are no longer the *three millions* of Catholics which we have to fear, but all the forces of the Democratic or Whig party annexed to Rome, that are brought against Protestantism. Those who co-operate with them are virtually a part of them, so far as the result of their exertions is concerned. Where would be the difference, Mr. Wise? If there were only three hundred of Jesuits in this Union, and your party so powerful in Virginia, and recently so triumphant all over the land, carries out their wishes—legislates for their benefit—grants them their demands, and your whole political machinery is worked by their chosen spirits? In your estimate of their numerical strength, you seemed to overlook this important feature in the aspect of the question at issue. But enough upon this point—your errors of calculation, and your misconception of the true condition of things, are too glaring to require further comment.

2. The next point raised in this marvellous production is, that the American party contravenes the spirit of our laws. Here, as in the former part, it is extremely difficult to follow his ideas through a wilderness of words; a wilderness where often no sunlight visits those who follow him. He commences with those incidents in our history familiar to every schoolboy

—how we all had, some time or other, either in our parents, grand-parents, or great-grand-parents, a foreign ancestry—how we are all related to Adam—and builds an argument upon the relations which some of our forefathers sustained to a foreign country, designed to show that we should treat those kindly who now come to our shores. But where is the necessity of parading these things before us—do not the instincts of humanity, and the utterances of Christianity, enforce these lessons far more efficiently than Mr. Wise? And is there an organization that strives to act with greater conformity to these Divine teachings than this new party? Do they not resist all show of intolerance? Does he not know that a fundamental principle of the party is—NO UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE? Does he not know that they contend for the largest liberty for all, consistent with the safety of the republic?—that they welcome the oppressed from all climes?—that they are pledged always to keep it a free asylum for all classes and creeds? If he did not know their principles, why write about them?—why denounce what he does not understand? What, in the name of Heaven, has the trial by jury to do with such a discussion? Never has a man so signally failed in making out a case—never did effort so recoil upon its author—as this letter which attempts to traduce the character of an association of which he is totally ignorant. The

great body of them are men above suspicion, and upon whose crest ten thousand knights, such as the Virginian, might shiver their weapons without inflicting a scar.

And now we come to his analysis of the Declaration of Rights, where he attempts to prove that the creed of the American party is in direct conflict with it. There is not a particular enumerated at this stage of his discussion which may not be turned against himself with the entire force of all his reasoning. As an illustration, I need but offer one of the several points raised. He proceeds: "Is not this organization an Imperium in Imperio against the 14th section of this Declaration, which says: 'That the people have a right to uniform government, and, therefore, that no government separated from, or independent of, the government of Virginia, ought to be erected or established within the limits thereof.' It is not a government," he continues; "but will it not, does it not, politically govern the portion of the people belonging to it differently from the portion of the people not belonging to it are governed by the laws of Virginia." Truly, a sage conclusion, and a very naughty feature in the new organization, that it presumes to govern and direct its members, instead of committing this business to Mr. Wise. But it is somewhat singular that this very feature, so odious in his estimation, has not long since driven him from the Democratic ranks, for do

they not acknowledge themselves the authors of the dogma, "to the victors belong the spoils;" and in its execution, do they not govern "that portion of the people belonging to them, differently from those who do not belong to them?" It is amazing that with his professed abhorrence of the principle invariably carried out, and which he *must* respect if elected, he should accept the nomination. And this is a common feature in all parties. Query, was it this feature in the Whig party which caused him to leave that standard some years ago?

But it is so far from abetting, that it is against this "*Imperium in Imperio*," that the whole force and significance of the American party wars. Let us see where this charge may be legitimately laid? Is it not at the door of the Romish Church, and at the feet of those who are aiding her with the force of their intellects to accomplish her purpose? Has not that organization been toiling with sleepless energy to do this very thing? And has not such a measure of success attended their efforts, that that spiritual despotism is rising as a powerful *Imperium in Imperio*, within the limits of our republic? I have elsewhere shown that they are a combination sworn to act in concert, and that too for the upbuilding of Romanism until it rises above all opposition, and its shadow darkens this whole continent. Is not their whole machinery

evidence of this truth? Behold the influence which they already command! Does not the silence of legislators, when the grossest outrages are committed by Catholics, afford the most tangible proof of the influence which this Imperium has acquired over the minds of public men? Does not this Roman Imperium assert prerogatives at variance with "the spirit of our laws?" Have they not established their monasteries and convents in the very shadow of the Throne of Freedom? And for what purposes are these prisons constructed? Do they not there hold, against their will, helpless females! often enticed or abducted from Protestant families, while no legislator has yet dared to propose the enactment of a law to authorize a parent to recover the child of his bosom? May they not, do they not, defy you; and is this no infringement on the civil and religious rights of Americans? Has it come to this, that American parents must furnish virgin daughters to glut, for all they know, the lust of foreign priests? Has this apologist for foreigners no sympathy for the daughters of American mothers? No word of denunciation, though a daughter from his own State was detained against her will in St. Joseph's, and escaped, at the peril of her life at night, from that dungeon of corruption? No invectives, because these strong-holds fill the land, and all their victims and doings are covered with that impenetrable veil of secrecy,

which massive walls, and bars, and bolts constitute?

Is it not a fact incontrovertibly established by history, that monasteries and convents are the pillars and bulwarks of the Romish imperium in all the countries that have been cursed by its presence? And lo! here there is not simply a government rising up within our government, but it has already established its strong-holds, and the eye of the law may not look upon the veiled abominations that transpire within these fortresses of the Papacy! Recently a Miss Bunkley, from Norfolk and of Protestant parents, yielding to the arts of fascination with which a serpent knows so well how to decorate the entrance of its den, was induced to enter a convent near where I write; but such was the revelation of the interior life of that establishment, as to shock her moral sensibilities, so that at all hazards she made her escape. The Lady Superior's letter to the public is full of blandishments, while she asserts that Miss B. could have withdrawn at any time, and that there was no occasion for escaping at night from a second story window. Such declarations, with all the aid of that aspect of injured piety which she so adroitly throws around them, contradict themselves. Would a girl of seventeen, timid and modest, risk her life by a descent from a second story window, scaling the wall of the enclosure,

and running, for her life and honor, to a town seven or eight miles distant, and that in the darkness of the night, when she could have come away at her pleasure? The very proposition is an insult to the good sense of our people.

It is against this dangerous power, against this *imperium in imperio*, that the American party has assumed an attitude, not offensive, but defensive. They will not countenance any indignity offered to Roman Catholics, nor injure a hair upon their heads—they will not abduct Catholic children, but they will defend themselves against the cunning of this terrible power—they will guard their homes and their children from the machinations of these tyrants—they will ask for such legislation that none may be imprisoned in a convent against their will, and that parents may have the right to explore those dens into which their offspring have been enticed.

But not to leave my reader simply with my own assertions respecting the pretensions of the Romish Church, as Mr. Wise did, when dealing out his invectives against the Know-Nothings, I will here present the views of the most eminent ecclesiastics of that Church, in relation to what they conceive to be the legitimate prerogatives of the Pope. Her own doctors ought to understand her doctrines. Hear, then, the distinguished Bellarmine, the prince of their theo-

logians, and the most eminent controversialist of his age. In his work, "De Pontiff," vol. i., he says: "The first opinion is, that the Pope, by Divine right, hath *supreme power* over the WHOLE WORLD! both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. This is the opinion of *Augustinus Triumphus*, *Ævarus*, *Pelagius*, *Panomitamus*, *Hostiensis*, *Sylvester*, and many others." Thomas Aquinas, another celebrated author of that Church, says: "The Pope, by Divine right, has spiritual and temporal power, as SUPREME KING OF THE WORLD; so that he can impose taxes on all Christians, and destroy towns and castles for the preservation of the Church." A multitude of other arrogant pretensions might be quoted; but these may suffice. If the Roman Imperium which has been rising within the circle of our glorious Union is not strong enough to give a practical illustration of these arrogant prerogatives, it finds in Mr. Wise an able apologist of her pretensions, and an efficient co-worker to rear to completion the superstructure of that despotic Imperium, which has laid its foundations broad and deep within the American Imperio, reared by the sweat and cemented by the blood of our venerated fathers.

The next point of his argument is against the supposed opposition of the "Know-Nothings" to the naturalization of foreigners. "So far as it opposes our naturalization laws, it is not only

against state policy, but against Americanism itself. In this it is especially anti-American. One of the best fruits of the Revolution was to establish, for the first time in the world, the human right of expatriation." In addition to the statements made in a previous chapter on the subject of naturalization, it may be necessary here to correct the misapprehensions of our honorable friend. He has expended much of his logic on this point, which might have been more judiciously used in doing justice to the American party. But as he seems to be a thorough Know-Nothing, so far as a knowledge of the principles of that order are concerned, this perversion of the truth is the more pardonable. Who has ever heard, but from their enemies, that they demand the abrogation of the naturalization laws? What proof has Mr. Wise that they are proscriptive in sentiment, or the enemies of expatriation? Why then so positively affirm that they are about to revive the "feudal dogma, once a citizen, always a citizen?" Should not shame mantle the countenance of those who so grossly misrepresent their fellow-citizens? What is the American party contending for, in relation to this subject? An abrogation of all laws relating to this matter—a total exclusion of foreigners—a withholding of the right of citizenship altogether—and the closing of every door of this asylum against them? Such would be the le-

gitimate inference of the reader of this singular letter, if not otherwise informed. And these monstrous sentiments, created by Mr. Wise, and draped in all the dark colorings with which a disordered fancy could invest them, are ascribed to the new order! Is it not amazing that men of high intellectual and social position should, even under the momentary excitement of debate, so far forget the proprieties that are observed between respectable combatants, as to give utterance to the foulest calumnies that a delirious and clouded brain can invent! It may be alleged, as an extenuation of his guilt, that the cry of "proscription," "exclusiveness," and "intolerance," which floated upon every breeze, so misled him as even to fill his mind with all those hobgoblin ideas of the new order to which he has given utterance. But if in the judgment of some it may mitigate the wrong committed, it cannot atone for the unpardonable neglect of not seeking information in the right quarter, before he attempted to instruct his constituents in the mysteries of the "Know-Nothings."

The American party asks that the period of naturalization may be extended, not prohibited! They maintain that it is dangerous to transplant a man without a suitable probation from a despotic or monarchical form of government, into the immunities of full American citizenship.

They are willing to accord to all such privileges as they may have capacity to enjoy—but opposed to the policy that would thrust responsibilities upon raw foreigners, which they neither comprehend nor know how to discharge. Our laws forbid the exercise of the elective franchise to all young men under the age of 21 years—is that proscription? Looking to their qualifications, it would be a far worse proscription, for our boys of 12 and 15 are much better informed in the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, than most foreigners of as many years' residence. Yet this party does not fix any number of years, but demands such a modification of the Naturalization laws as the wisdom of Congress may deem expedient, so that none may be invested with all the prerogatives of citizenship, but such as are suitably prepared sacredly to guard and wisely to enjoy this high trust. What then becomes of the gentleman's beautiful exclamations! what of his touching pathos and wasted patriotism? It may be matter of regret that these precious things are so injudiciously thrown away; for they might have served some great occasion; but they are gone, and none can rescue them from their inglorious doom! An extension of a privilege is not understood in our latitude as annulling it—nor is a modification of a law equivalent to its repeal.

It may be that since the appearance of this

letter, which Balmes would call "a confusion of ideas," that words have acquired a confused meaning, where it has circulated. For the benefit of Mr. Wise and his friends, with whom the cry of proscription has become as familiar as a child to its mother, I will submit a brief quotation from an editorial of the New York Courier. The only *positive* provision which the Constitution contains with regard to foreigners, is a *proscriptive* one. "We must be pardoned for recalling the very language of the Constitution, for this progressive generation is fast losing sight of even the plainest features of that document."

Section 5, Article II., of the Constitution says: "No person, except a *native born citizen*, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President."

That is proscription.

Section 3, Article XII., says: "No person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to the office of Vice President of these United States."

That is proscription.

Section 3, Article I., says: "No person shall be a Senator, who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and *been nine years a citizen* of the United States."

That is proscription.

Section 2, Article I., says: "No person shall be a Representative, who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been *seven years* a citizen of the United States."

That is proscription.

These are disabilities imposed upon foreigners *after* they have been made citizens. But more than this, the Constitution leaves it *discretionary* whether to make them citizens at all. It simply confers the power, simply permits. Section 8, Article I., says: "Congress *shall have* power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization, &c."

Nothing whatever requires Congress to exercise this power, or restricts its range in either direction when it is exercised: Congress may require two years' residence, as was required by the act of 1790; of five years, as by the act of 1795, and 1802; or of fourteen years, as by the act of 1798; or of twenty-one, as some now demand, or it may withhold naturalization altogether."

It is true that naturalization confers not the right of voting, for it is the privilege of States to confer this right, and varies as to time in different States, so that each State is sovereign in that respect. The great object then to which the American party strives to awaken the attention of the nation, is such an extension of the period of naturalization as will afford a suitable time for applicants to become thoroughly Americanized. This accomplished, local and state

laws will naturally adapt themselves to the provisions of National legislation on the subject. From this impartial view of the case, it will be seen that there is not a single vestige left of the Honorable gentleman's mountain which was intended to crush the Know-Nothings. It becomes perfectly harmless and would not discomfort a mouse by its weight! All his logic rests upon sand, and is doomed at the slightest touch to fall into a mass of ruins. His declamation and his invectives evaporate into thin air, and he is found beating his head against the wall! Alas, for Honorable Henry, may he do better next time!

One more item in your remarks, my dear sir, demands notice, and I will pause. "If we let foreigners be naturalized and don't extend to them equality of privileges, we set up classes and distinctions of persons wholly opposed to Republicanism. We will, as Rome did, have citizens who may be scourged. The three alternatives are presented—our present policy, liberal and just, and tolerant, and equal; or the European policy of holding the nose of native born slaves to the grindstone of tyranny forever; or odious distinctions of citizenship tending to social and political aristocracy. I am for the present Naturalization laws."

The gentleman is quite eloquent in his plea for equality—he scouts the idea of setting up

distinctions among citizens! They must be on an equal footing, and enjoy like privileges. Now what will the reader think of this ebullition of fine patriotism, when told that this former champion in the Whig ranks, but now the standard-bearer of the Democracy, tolerates and advocates the distinctions which he denounces! Not the distinctions which exist between the master and the slave, but among bona fide citizens of the Old Dominion! There is a class of men whose intellectual and moral character place them in the highest social positions, but between whom and the humblest citizens he builds up the "*odious distinctions*" which he feigns to abhor. According to the revised constitution of the State of Virginia, "no minister of the gospel" is eligible to an office. The question here is not whether they should or should not aspire to office, for as to this, I would agree with the gentleman; but by what rule does he claim equality for *all*, and yet proscribe as pure and intelligent a class of men as his State can boast?

What does this holy horror of "setting up *distinctions*" amount to, when he imposes a disability upon men not for crime, but because they are ministers of religion? Say what you will, you throw a dark and damning suspicion over their character as men of integrity. Nay, you do far worse, for while you withhold from them

privileges which you grant to gamblers, drunkards, libertines, or the most infamous men in morals, you place clergymen in the only other class excluded from official stations, viz.: "duellists, or persons who have been convicted of great crimes, and been the inmates of the State prison." What value shall we put upon his patriotism, when, during the long sittings of the convention that altered the Constitution of Virginia, of which Mr. Wise was a leading member, he never uttered a word or moved a finger to strike out the odious, disqualifying clause, which shuts out clergymen even from an humble Post-office. Here he boils and foams with indignation, because the American party advocates wholesome restrictions in regard to foreigners, but he has no sympathy—no patriotism for those at his own door, who are the conservators of public morals—the instructors of the people, and an example to the world. He would throw wide open to raw foreigners, to intriguing Jesuits, the door to political preferment, but though he would regard these, or gamblers, or any others fit subjects for the occupancy of official station, he excludes forever and under all circumstances, ministers, however respectable or competent; though disabled by disease for their public functions, he would not allow them the humblest office to support a dependent family.

How will these gentlemen estimate his patriot-

ism?—how will they esteem his clamors for equal rights? Can he hope for their votes and influence in the present campaign—or would he apply that other part of his argument, that it would be against the faith, hope, and charity of the Gospel if they would proscribe him because he has proscribed them? They will not court the contempt of all just men by helping to elevate this champion of equal rights and of Rome, while he oppresses them! And what, I ask, have these ministers done to deserve this legislation? Why beset them and the Church with the armed sentinels of law? Who, Mr. Wise, originates and carries on those benevolent institutions whose charities wake melodies in the abodes of wretchedness? Who is most occupied in labors for the amelioration of human suffering, or for the advancement of education and science? Who has built your colleges and seminaries of learning? Who has educated your Clays and Websters, your Casses and Buchanans? There is scarcely a profound scholar or eminent statesman in the country who has not received his intellectual and moral training from ministers of the Gospel. You cannot even govern your people after they have stored your mind with classic lore, and taught you the science of government, without the ministers of religion and the motives of eternity. May I ask you again, sir, what have the ministers of the

Gospel done to deserve this proscription at your hands? I will answer for you in the language of that just and great man, Daniel Webster. That immortal patriot and statesman gave utterance to the following sentiments before the Supreme Court: "I take it upon myself to say, that in no country in the world, upon either continent, can there be found a body of ministers of the Gospel who perform so much service to man in such a full spirit of self-denial, under so little encouragement of any kind, and under circumstances always much straitened and often distressed, as the ministers of the Gospel in the United States of all denominations. They form no part of any established order of religion—they constitute no hierarchy—they enjoy no peculiar privileges—in some States they are even shut out from all participation in the political rights and privileges enjoyed by their fellow-citizens—they enjoy no tithes—no public provision of any kind. And this body of clergymen has shown, to the honor of their own country, and to the astonishment of the hierarchies of the old world, that it is practicable in free governments to raise up and sustain a body of clergymen—which, for devotedness to their sacred calling, for purity of life and character, for learning, intelligence, piety, and that wisdom which cometh from above—is inferior to none, and superior to most others.

I hope that our learned men have done something for the honor of our literature abroad. I hope that the courts of justice and members of the bar of this country have done something to elevate the character of the profession of the law. I hope that the discussions in Congress have done something to meliorate the condition of the human race—to secure and extend the great charter of human rights, and to strengthen and advance the great principles of human liberty. But I contend that no literary efforts, no adjudications, no constitutional discussions, nothing that has been done or said in favor of the great interests of universal man, has done our country more credit at home or abroad than the establishment of our body of clergymen, and the general excellence of their character, their piety, and learning.”

Such are the men, in the estimation of Daniel Webster, who are proscribed by the Hon. Mr. Wise, while he prates for equality, and denounces “the setting up of distinctions.”

3. The third proposition which Mr. Wise discusses, is, that “Know-Nothingism is against the spirit of the Reformation, and against Protestantism!” To Know Nothing is certainly against the spirit of the Reformation and against Protestantism, for that is a spirit of inquiry and reform which cannot exist anywhere without imparting knowledge. But unfortunately for Mr. Wise, the American party is the very embo-

diment of that spirit which produced such a wide-spread and profound revolution in ecclesiastical and civil affairs in Europe. If the sixteenth century stands out in European history glowing and illustrious, so will the nineteenth century constitute in American history an epoch alike memorable for a Reformation to re-establish religious freedom and American nationality. If the "solitary monk that shook the world" by the exertion of his giant intellect, "toppled down the full-grown intolerable abuses of centuries—heaved the ground under the feet of a bigoted faith and slavish obedience—and the roaring and dashing of opinions loosened from their accustomed hold might be heard like the noise of an angry sea," those who revere the principles of the Reformer now contend in the new party for free Bibles, for free consciences, and free hearts! With a few slight changes, the learned quotations and able argument of the gentleman may become most effective weapons for those whom they were intended to destroy. Hear him: "There was a mighty fermentation; the waters were out; public opinion was in a state of projection; liberty was offered to all to think and speak the truth; men's brains were busy, their spirits stirring, their hearts full, and their hands not idle." He has made this language his own, and by giving utterance to it, could not more truthfully or graphically describe

the effects now visible as the legitimate offspring of the American party. Let us see: Has it not produced a "*mighty fermentation?*" Are not "the waters out?" Yes, the whole country is in a state of fermentation, and the lees will soon go to the bottom; yes, the waters (by which I suppose he means the people,) are out — they have burst their channels, and rushing beyond their banks, are sweeping away many cherished hopes with their authors, and will soon bear them beyond the knowledge of the country; yes, sir, the waters are out, and you would better have a care to your "understandings." Let us see! Is not "public opinion in a state of projection?" Yes, sir; for it is projecting many of the old politicians into those regions of forgetfulness which lie about the Saline River. Yes, sir; yes, sir; public opinion is in "a state of projection," and you had better see to it, for it will most probably project *another* into that honorable chair, towards which you are now laboriously toiling. Is not "liberty held out to all to think and speak the truth?" Yes, sir; and I fear will be detrimental to your hopes. Let us see again. Are not "men's brains busy and their spirits stirring?" Yes, sir; I believe it all — that your brain is busy, and that the Know-Nothings have stirred your spirit to its lowest depths, for the cloudiness of its outflows witnesseth of this. Are not "their hearts full,

and their hands not idle?" Yes, sir; yes, sir; the new party has assuredly produced a great *fermentation* in Mr. Wise's mind and in his party. It has certainly quickened your brain, and stirred your spirit. Yes, sir; I believe you; "your heart is full," and may be yet fuller. And your "hands not idle." I grant all. But now I hold the honorable gentleman to his argument, and to the rule upon which it is based; and he must, *volens volens*, recognise in the American party the very spirit he eulogizes so highly.

Hear him again: "Their eyes were open to expect the greatest things, and their ears burn with curiosity and zeal to know the truth, that the truth might make them free. The death-blow which had been struck at scarlet vice and bloated hypocrisy, loosened tongues and made the talismans and love-tokens of Popish superstitions with which she had beguiled her followers, and committed abominations with the people, fall harmless from their necks." It would not be surprising if you would yet "sleep with the Know-Nothings," for you so much resemble them in your sentiments; and seeing that the effects of the Reformation of the sixteenth century have so enraptured your mind, and enlisted the sympathies of your great heart; for, without controversy, the effects which you describe for that period are the very counterpart to those

now abroad in society, and produced by this new order. Need I particularize? Let us see. Are not "the eyes of the people opening?" Yes, and with amazement too, to behold the abominations of Rome, and the corruptions of political parties. Do not "their ears burn," to listen to the unheard-of triumphs of the "Know Nothings?" Is not "the blow which they have inflicted upon scarlet vice," &c., "and Popish superstitions," sending the tremors of death through that gigantic mother of corruption? Does not "her yoke," which she had placed upon the neck of this nation, fall harmless at her feet? How then, excellent sir, can you commend the effect which the spirit of the Reformation produced, and reprobate the identical effects of the American party? Do we not, according to Bacon, infer the nature of the cause from its phenomena? And if you object not to this philosophy, will not consistency constrain you to rejoice in the presence of the same spirit, though veiled by a different exterior? The name under which a principle is promulgated cannot vitiate the principle itself—nor does the image on the coin change its current value.

But hear once more this eloquent but unintentional defender of the "Know-Nothings." Speaking of the Reformation, he says: "The translation of the Bible was the chief engine in the great work. It threw open the rich trea-

tures of religion and morality, which had been locked up as in a shrine. It revealed the visions of the Prophets, and conveyed the lessons of inspired teachers to the *meanest of the people*. It gave them a common interest in a common cause. Their hearts burnt within them as they read. It gave a mind to the people, by giving them common subjects of thought and feeling; it cemented their *union* of character and sentiment." Thank you, sir, for that. Could there be a better exposition of the spirit and tendency of the American party. The honorable gentleman had doubtless forgotten, when he penned the above paragraph, that the Popish war waged against the Bible, and copies of it having been burned by some priests, and their efforts to banish it from the public schools, where "the *meanest of the people*" might read it, were among the first and most powerful causes which called the new party into existence. It was the apprehended danger that the Bible might, in this free land, be a second time sealed, ay and chained too, that caused the American people to arise to defend their rights, and wither the hand that would dare to do this iniquity. The sentiment of not only the people, but also of the children of this nation, has been rung through the wide realm of this Union—"We won't give up the Bible, God's holy book of truth." Yes, sir, the party which you denounce is laboring to restore the

Bible to its rightful position in the public school! They believe with you, sir, "that it contains the richest treasures of religion and morality;" that it gives "them a common interest in a common cause;" that it "gives a mind to the people, by giving them common subjects of thought and feeling;" that it "cements their union of character and sentiment." Here, then, over the Bible we shake hands with you, and thank you for your unintentional service which you have rendered to the party you meant to proscribe.

It is somewhat singular that the gentleman, in all his declamation against what he conceives to be the proscriptive attributes of the American party, discovers nothing proscriptive in his own labored effort. He proscribes with a merciless tyranny this association, which numbers many of the most respectable in the land; he would not allow them to breathe a moment, if he possibly could stop their breath. We are more generous towards Mr. Wise and his party, and foreigners and their allies—let them live and prosper, if they can; we will proscribe none, but hold inviolable in all, the glorious legacy of "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness." And now we reach a point in the argumentation of this extraordinary letter that sounds very pious.

4. "It (i. e., the American party) is opposed not only to the Reformation, but to the faith, hope, and charity of the Gospel." Have you

ever noticed with what avidity politicians seize upon some Scripture argument to clinch their conclusions? They flare up with a fierce spirit and hot indignation to devour some black-coat who presumes to touch ever so tenderly on some political measure in his pulpit discussions, while they never object to an approval of their course, or of a measure they cherish, though the approbation comes from those "who desecrate the high designs of the sacred desk by politics;" neither do they fail to avail themselves of such arguments as the Gospel may seem to furnish. Mr. Wise appears to have a special abhorrence for Protestant priestcraft, and cannot acknowledge the right of the ministers of religion to think or speak on political subjects; he would, therefore, have acted consistently with the doctrine—"Every man to his own sphere," had he busied himself outside the pale of the Gospel, and not attempted to render the ecclesiastical and theological fields tributary to his argument. But I object not to the latitude which he has given himself; for surely that is a desperate cause which requires its advocate to ransack earth, heaven, and hell in his attempts to sustain it. Besides, the friends of the American party are not proscriptive, but stand up for equal rights, and maintain that all may think or speak on any or all subjects which challenge investigation; so that I may not, and will not, complain.

when Mr. Wise turns preacher. I can the more readily grant him a free absolution for this sin, if it be so regarded, (I do not,) because his declamation requires no reply, since he has failed to make out his case. He has only said that the "Know-Nothings" are in conflict with the faith, hope, and charity of the Gospel—in what particulars, he has left the reader's imagination to determine. But, although he has failed to exhibit the points of collision between the principles of this party and the sublime teachings of the Gospel, it could be readily shown, were it our business to prove this, that the principles of the party are eminently consistent with the exalted sentiments of the word of God. But I weary of this examination of this singular epistle; for it is fatiguing to follow him through the labyrinths which his excited fancy has conjured up; for we must remember that his "brain was busy," his "spirit stirred," and his heart full. I hasten, therefore, to notice briefly his concluding position.

5. His apprehensions expressed under this head, that "it would lead to a proscription among Protestants, and finally lead to civil war," are as harmless as moonshine, and just as cooling. Had I not had occasion to tell him at every step of our progress in this examination, that the American party does not proscribe, but is pledged to prevent proscription, I would show

that all the tendencies of this organization are even now defeating the designs of Jesuits to bring about a union of Church and State. It is unmanly to ascribe principles and intentions to an organization which it abhors, and against which all its energies are directed in laborious toil.

Finally, he characterizes the "Know-Nothings" as "a secret oligarchy, beyond the reach of popular and public scrutiny." The application of the term would have been far more fortunate had it been made to the caucus of the old parties, (which Mr. Wise says are necessary,) for there the few do control all things pertaining to their organizations; but there could not be a greater misnomer than when applied to the American party. An oligarchy, indeed! A few individuals combined for the purpose of governing the nation, when this "oligarchy" is so numerous as to fill the land! Why, if they are the few deluded fanatics, as Mr. Wise asserts, make such tremendous efforts to subvert their organization? The whole letter is a singular conglomeration of things as distinct, and as foreign to each other, as light is to darkness. Yet, after describing this party as an "oligarchy," he continues—"Nobody knows who they are, where they are, or how many of them there are. They exist

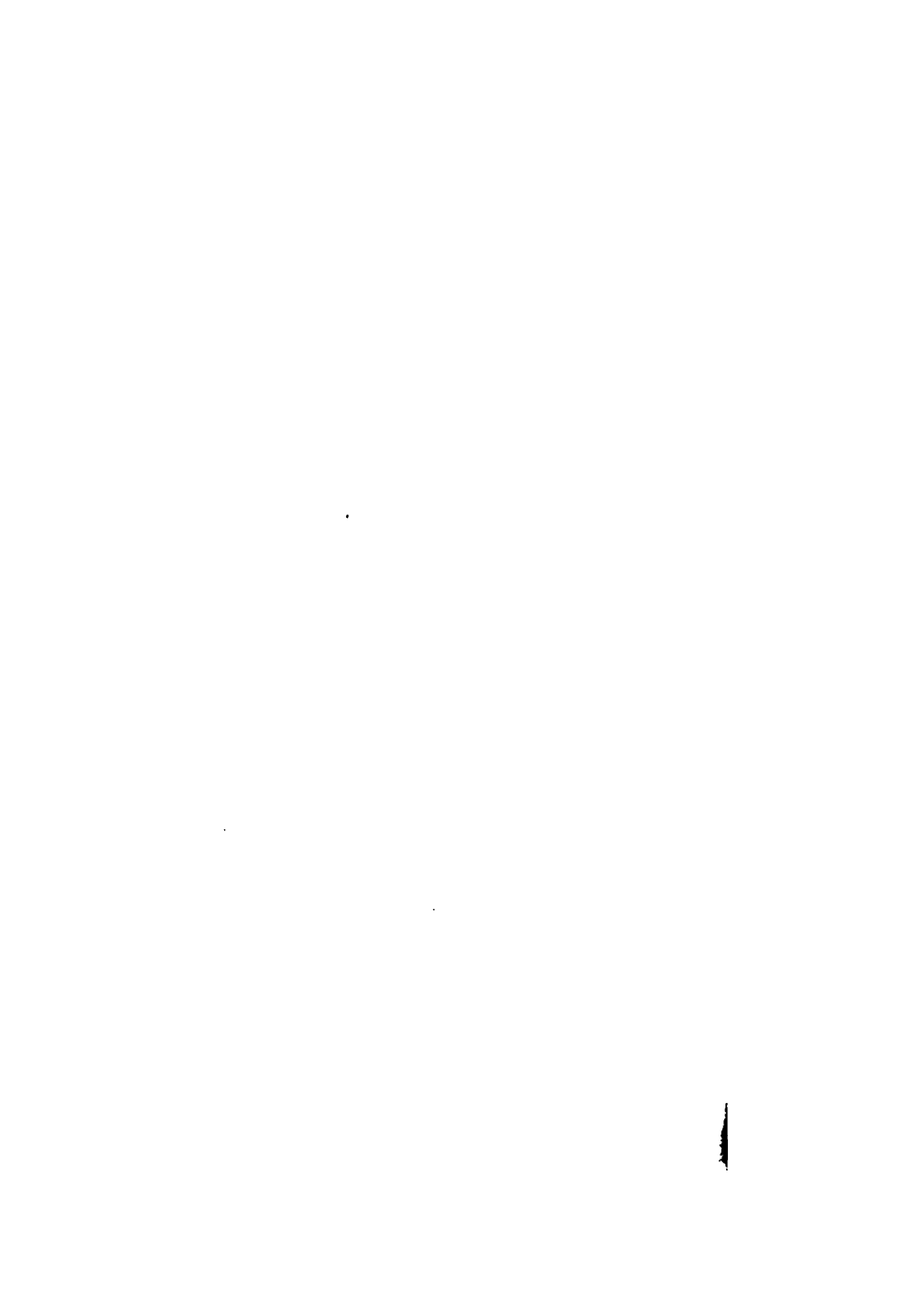
somewhere in the dark; their blows cannot be guarded against." How, in the midst of this ignorance which he confesses, can he pronounce upon their numbers and characters? What reliance can be placed upon the statements he made concerning their designs, when, according to his own showing, he knows nothing about them. Had he first informed himself as to the nature of the organization, its principles and objects, he would not have wasted so much argument and so many invectives, that have as little application to the party as they have to the people of China.

The remainder of this letter is made up of materials similar to those already subjected to an examination. It is proscription! proscription!! proscription!!! destitute of force, because it does not, and cannot, apply to the American party. I will do him the justice to say, that it would have been a highly respectable document in its composition, if it could only have rested upon sound premises; but these being destitute of the elements of truth, his conclusions must necessarily wear the same complexion. While there are many points of character in Mr. Wise which I admire, I see the predominant and, as I think, the unfortunate characteristic of the man, through all this production—a fiery and impulsive spirit, scorning

the checks of reason and the suggestions of the understanding, and, with a dare-devil purpose, rushing madly forward, whether he drives others or himself over the yawning precipice; or like the infatuated pilot, who shivers his vessel upon the UNSEEN AND UNKNOWN ROCK, and whose privilege it is not, to perish alone!

THE END.

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1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the proceedings. The names are listed in alphabetical order of the last name. The names are: [illegible]

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